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Dance and Song Rituals of Six Nations Reserve, Ontario

by Gertrude Prokosch Kurath

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Department of the Secretary of State

DANCE AND SONG RITUALS
OF
SIX NATIONS RESERVE, ONTARIO

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DANCE AND SONG RITUALS OF SIX NATIONS RESERVE, ONTARIO

by Gertrude Prokosch Kurath

Ottawa, 1968

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Preface

This report is primarily a choreographic and musical survey of Canadian Longhouse customs. It joins the arts of choreography and music in the descriptions and even in the analyses. It also presents the related art of costuming.

The ceremonies integrate other important features with dance and music. But the prayers, speeches, organization, and their respective histories must receive superficial mention. Similarly, the important item of linguistics in song texts is slighted. The ethnographic and linguistic aspects have received expert treatment and continue to receive attention from specialists (*see* Fenton, *ed.*, 1951, 1961). Hence, song texts and dance names are written in the simplest of spellings, and the latter appear usually in English equivalents.

One aspect of material culture receives more attention than in previous publications, namely, the setting and orientation of the sanctuaries. The first two figures are the result of careful study with maps, compass, and Indian helpers, in addition to many observations of the ceremonies.

The observations have extended over sixteen years, from 1948 to 1964, and have included representative ceremonies of all seasons. It was possible to be present at these ceremonies in the three Longhouses that welcome White visitors. For the fourth one, Lower Cayuga, secondhand descriptions had to suffice, because its members exclude White guests.

The first trips were encouraged by William N. Fenton and were financed by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (then the Viking Fund). Dr. Fenton has graciously permitted the use of transcriptions from some of his 1941 and 1945 recordings.

Subsequent tape recordings are from my own collections made in 1950 and 1963 for the National Museum of Canada; in 1952 on a grant from the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters; and at other times for my own pleasure.

The success of my visits for either business or friendship, or both, when alone or in the company of my son or of friends, was due to the hospitality and cordiality of the Longhouse people. My hostesses were, successively, Carrie Logan Hill, Anna Cook Green, Esther Jamieson, and Verna Logan, who extended the use of their precincts for camping and were otherwise helpful. Anna Green deserves special thanks for her information on costumes, and for her criticism of the manuscript in 1963.

Thanks are due the singers who gave of their talents in the preparation of recordings. Some are deceased; some are now at the height of their powers; some are future great musicians.

SINGERS (in alphabetical order):

George Buck, Joshua (Billy) Buck, Gordie Buck, Peter Buck, Richard Buck, Roy Buck, Nelson Crawford, Alexander General (Deskaheh), Jemima Gibson, Simeon Gibson, Anna Green, Scottie Hill, Willie John, Charlie and Mrs. Jamieson, Esther Jamieson, Thomas Lewis, Joseph Logan Sr., Joseph Logan Jr., Gordon Peters, Percy Smoke, Edward Styres, Brenda Thomas, James White, Joseph Williams.

COSTUME DESIGNS in Part V are by

MISS URSULA ROTHMULLER, graduate of the Modeschule der Stadt Wien im Schloss Hetzendorff, from sketches and photographs assembled by the author.

Music and choreographic sketches were prepared by the author. Except where otherwise acknowledged, photographs are by the author.

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Résumé

Cette monographie présente les événements cérémoniaux dans les quatre sanctuaires ou *longhouses* de *Six Nations Reserve*, Ontario, sanctuaires identifiés avec trois des six tribus iroquoises, les Cayuga, Onondaga et Seneca. En marge des explications, l'auteur a préparé quatre-vingt-huit illustrations chorégraphiques et musicales, et mademoiselle Ursula Rothmuller a dessiné six illustrations de costumes. Ces matériaux et les photographies résultent de quinze ans de visites et d'études.

Dans la première partie *Keepers of the Faith*, l'auteur décrit les coutumes à l'égard des sanctuaires mêmes, les arrangements géographiques, architectoniques et sociaux, de même que les procédés cérémoniaux.

Dans la deuxième partie *Choreography*, elle explique les principes de base de la chorégraphie et, à l'aide de dessins typiques, développe les pas de danse des Iroquois.

La troisième partie *Dance and Song in the Ceremonies* présente l'essence de la monographie. Les quatre chapitres commencent par la description des cérémonies collectives, *Midwinter Dream and Medicine Rites*, *Four Sacred Ceremonies*, *Food Spirit Dances*, *Social Dances*. Les notations des danses et les diagrammes se joignent aux notations des chansons et des instruments de percussion.

La quatrième partie *Traditional Style and Variations* est analytique. Les méthodes analytiques découvrent les caractéristiques des mouvements, de la géométrie, des rythmes et des mélodies. Sont notés les modèles traditionnels et les possibilités de l'improvisation et de la création.

Dans la cinquième partie, il s'agit de la description et du développement historique des costumes cérémoniaux pour les femmes, les hommes et les danseurs masqués.

La sixième *Crucial Decades* revoit les éléments constants et les changements au cours des dernières décennies, surtout pendant les quinze années d'observation sur place de l'auteur.

Une liste des chanteurs et de leurs enregistrements, une bibliographie, terminent l'oeuvre.

PART I:

KEEPERS OF THE FAITH

Introduction

On Six Nations Reserve, four Longhouses provide ceremonial centres for the Longhouse people, who compose a fifth of the residential population. This Ontario Reserve stretches obliquely along the southwestern bank of the Grand River, on a land grant dating from the Revolutionary War. The Reserve and its roads lie slantwise with reference to the compass, and the Longhouses are located parallel to the roads, as indicated in Figure 1.

The names of the Longhouses suggest affiliation with the Cayuga, Onondaga, and Seneca tribes. In actual fact the tribal names do signify descent in the membership, but there is no restriction. Although many Mohawks on the Reserve are Christian, a fair number belong to a Longhouse. An outstanding family at Onondaga Longhouse—the Logans—descends from a Mohawk mother. In all Longhouses some prominent adherents have Oneida, Tuscarora, Tutelo, Delaware, or White ancestors.

The Longhouse members intervisit for ceremonies, and they reciprocally invite singers or preachers from other Longhouses, especially from Lower Cayuga Longhouse. Often the dancers include visitors from other Longhouses, even from Iroquois Longhouses in New York State.

What with a common source and creed and a constant exchange of personnel, the four Longhouses share the basic customs. Yet they have evolved distinctive features in their annual ceremonial calendars.

CHAPTER ONE

Ceremonial Calendars

COMPOSITION OF CALENDRIC CYCLE

All four Longhouses observe eight seasonal ceremonies in the course of the year:

1. Midwinter Ceremonies in January or February, starting five days after the new moon of midwinter; managed by male officials.
2. Planting Ceremony, the middle of May, first of five smaller Food Spirit Festivals; managed by female officials.
3. Strawberry Harvest, middle of June.
4. Raspberry Harvest, middle of July.
5. Green Bean Harvest, early August.
6. Small Green Corn Festival, latter half of August.
7. Big Green Corn Ceremonies, between late August and late September; managed by the men.
8. Harvest Festival in October; managed by the women.

The ceremonies include some forty dance suites, each composed of a song series. Each dance type has its traditional placement in each ceremony. Medicine rites distinguish the Midwinter events. It is unusual for a medicine dance to occur during a Food Spirit Feast. The Midwinter and Big Green Corn festivals focus on four sacred rites for the Creator: The Great Feather Dance; the men's Individual Chant; the Drum or Thanksgiving Dance; and the Bowl Game, which is not a dance. A Feather Dance distinguishes all communal rituals throughout the year. Two Iroquois women's dances, the Women's Shuffle Dance or *enskanye* and the Society of Women Planters, address agricultural spirits—the Three Sisters, Corn, Beans, and Squash. Sometimes the women dance the Four Nights Harvest Dance from the Tutelo tribe during the Onondaga Corn ceremony. Several collective rounds also address the three spirits. And there are many 'social' dances, some with animal names.

Midwinter Ceremonies

After three days of ritual preparation, purification, and confessions, the adherents of Onondaga Longhouse celebrate for eight or nine days in the following manner:

1. Ritual stirring of ashes in the homes and the Longhouse, with chants called 'dream songs'—in the morning.
2. Ashes stirring ritual, formerly a short Drum Dance—before noon. Formerly, medicine rites took place in the afternoon.
3. Medicine rites, mostly in response to dreams, or pledged renewals for people cured during the year—all day.
4. Medicine rites—all day.

5. Recess, for cleaning the precincts, formerly the time of the White Dog Sacrifice.
6. Great Feather Dance for Faithkeepers (ritual officials), Women's Shuffle Dance, Feather Dance for everyone—till early afternoon.
7. Tobacco offering, Individual Chants, with Naming Ceremonies, long Drum Dance for everyone—for half a day.
8. Bowl or Peachstone gambling game between moieties till late afternoon, Feather Dance. Social dances in the evening, if game not completed.
9. Completion of game.

Within a week there is a 'Forest Dance,' with semi-sacred dances chosen from the Food Spirit and Social categories.

The other congregations follow the same order, except that they compress the Medicine Rites into one day, thus shortening the activities to seven or eight days. Apparently this contraction has taken place within the last three decades, for Speck lists two days of medicine rites (1949, p. 34–35). Customs in New York State Longhouses are distinctive (Fenton, 1936, 1941; Kurath MS., 1952).

Big Green Corn Festival

The customs for the largest summer festival are uniform. After three days of preliminaries, the last three days of the Midwinter ceremonies are repeated.

1. Feather Dance, Women's Dance, Feather Dance, sometimes a speech and a third Feather Dance—three hours, late morning.
2. Individual Chants and Naming, Drum Dance—also late morning.
3. Bowl game, perhaps evening dancing.
4. Completion of game, if necessary.
5. Forest Dance within a week.

Food Spirit Festivals

The one-day summer dances, held in the late morning, vary between Longhouses and even from year to year within the same Longhouse, with Feather Dance and Women's Dance as invariable ingredients.

Cayuga	*Onondaga*	*Seneca*
Feather Dance	Feather Dance	Feather Dance
Women's Shuffle Dance	Women's Dance	Women's Dance
Trotting Dance	Trotting Dance	Feather Dance
Corn Dance	Corn Dance	
Bean or Hand-in-Hand Dance	Bean Dance	
Shaking-a-Squash Dance	Shaking-a-Squash Dance, sometimes Four Nights Dance	

Society of Women Planters, sometimes at Planting and Harvest ceremonies

Variations depend on the attendance. The festival is shortened by small attendance when members are busy in the fields or away at the large orchards. Bean Dance was omitted at Soursprings on August 26, 1950, and at Onondaga on August 16, 1949. Onondaga used the Seneca sequence on August 28, 1950, and on September 4, 1960. On the other hand, in 1949, the

appropriate singers were on hand, and the women danced Four Nights Harvest Ritual. In all Longhouses the berry festivals are apt to use the Seneca version.

Although the singing and dancing are the nuclear activities in all festivals, there are other important ritual acts and also long periods of silence. Each day of worship starts with a prayer by a male official and continues with a speech or speeches. The proceedings are interspersed with speeches or announcements by various men and terminated with a prayer. A feast is the inevitable conclusion, except after Midwinter medicine dances.

Forest Dances and Social Dances open with a prayer and then proceed with a variable series of dances. The Trotting Dance is a favourite opener. Forest Dances usually include Corn and Bean dances. The Women's Shuffle Dance, which is always on the program, may open with a special set of songs. In the sacred rituals the women perform to traditional old songs; at social gatherings they perform to new compositions by the singers. The Fish Dance is popular either to old or to new songs. In addition, the conductors make arbitrary selections from the roster of dances, choosing from six to a dozen during an evening. Food Spirit rounds can double as social entertainment. Conversely, the animal and bird stomps, and the Fish Type dances described in Part II rarely grace days of medicine rites. They serve the purpose of sociability. A typical evening of social dances, which consisted of Trotting, Women's, Fish, Shaking-the-Bush, Bean, Fishing, Sharpen-the-Stick, Pigeon, Alligator, Duck, and Raccoon dances, was held at Onondaga on October 12, 1952.

Dates

The customs admit flexibility not only in composition but also in the timing of the seasonal event, within its season. The Onondaga chiefs interpret the new moon of midwinter differently than the leaders of the other Longhouses. The Onondaga start the Midwinter Ceremonies five days after the first new moon in January or late December; the others start after the next new moon. For example, Onondaga commenced "Ashes Stirring" on January 12 in 1951, on January 17 in 1956, and on January 11 in 1961. Soursprings consistently began Midwinter Ceremonies a month later than Onondaga. Seneca and Lower Cayuga might lag a day behind Soursprings, or Seneca might even commence a fortnight after Onondaga, thus ignoring the new moon timing.

The summer dances depend on the weather and the consequent ripening of the crops. The matrons of all Longhouses arrange the Strawberry Dance when wild strawberries are ripe. (In 1963 Onondaga matrons missed the time completely.) They decide on the Small Green Corn feast when the corn is ripe enough to eat. In accordance with these regulations the various groups are apt to synchronize. For instance, in 1949 it was possible to celebrate the harvest of early corn in the middle of August. In 1950 Soursprings danced on August 26 and Onondaga on August 28. But in 1960 cold weather delayed the Onondaga dance until September 4, and the other groups had not even set their dates.

The Big Green Corn Ceremony is more variable, as corn continues coming in for a while. Onondaga chiefs usually act more quickly than other chiefs. Dates may vary from the Onondaga celebration on August 24 in 1955 to the Soursprings ceremony on September 18 in 1950.

Other Events

Other celebrations include sporadic seasonal rites, private medicine dances, public shows, and the Six Nations Meetings. They draw upon the same repertoire of dances as the regular calendric events.

Sometimes there is a Thanks to the Maple in February, with a Feather Dance and a Bowl Game. Either before or after planting, a War Dance may bring thanks in a Thunder Rite. After planting, a Drum Dance may address the Sun and Moon spirits. In case of drought, a War Dance may supplicate rain.

In spring and fall there are usually dances for the Dead and False Face circuits. These dances or other medicine rites are habitually celebrated in an attempt to effect cures in private homes (Kurath 1963: 9–11, 13–16). At any time the Chiefs may conduct weddings, wakes, or funerals in Longhouses or private homes.

At the other end of the scale are the war dances and social dances at fairs and shows on the Reserve or elsewhere, including an annual summer pageant (Chapter 14).

Six Nations Meetings take place in the Longhouses, but they are independent of the calendric ceremonies. They form conventions of delegates from all Longhouses in Canada and the United States, and they draw a large local attendance as well. The meetings always start with a week at Tonawanda Longhouse near Akron, New York, after which they proceed to other Longhouses; the schedule of visits to Longhouses differs from year to year. During October and November two Six Nations Reserve Longhouses generally serve as hosts for a week each. Thus, Onondaga and Seneca served as hosts in 1951, and the two Cayuga Longhouses in 1952. The expense and the enormous labour for the female cooks make this alternation necessary.

The agenda includes a Saturday evening social dance to welcome delegates, a Sunday afternoon reception with speeches and social dances, and ceremonies throughout the week until Thursday or sometimes Friday. These ceremonies include morning, afternoon, and evening affairs:

1. Every morning, recitation of the Code of Handsome Lake, the prophet, by one of the few speakers in command of this long code. Confessions.
2. After lunch, a Great Feather Dance.
3. Late in the afternoon, through the dinner hour (which is in shifts), and through the evening, social dances, with much singing of new Women's Shuffle Dance songs. Each evening the program of ten-odd dances differs.

These meetings have political as well as ritual importance. The annual gatherings of guests from widely dispersed settlements renew the ties between the Longhouse people. Traditional repertoires are strengthened, and new song compositions, affecting only the Women's Dance and the social dances, are exchanged between Longhouses. The many dances and songs enlist the participation of visitors as well as of local adherents.

Because of their extensive duration, the Six Nations meetings attract all age groups, in turn, to the Longhouse. In the mornings the audience is generally limited to the delegates, who are older men, to the local Faithkeepers and other

mature people, and to younger housewives with their babies. School children and teachers appear for dinner and the early social dance hours. Later many young men and women come from their jobs in a Brantford canning factory or at a Caledonia gypsum mine. They sometimes bring White friends. Thus, the Meetings also have social significance in uniting the age groups and the races.

CHAPTER TWO

Longhouse Activity

Let us visualize the actions during a ceremony in relation to their setting in a Longhouse.

As the four buildings are oriented aslant, their corners point to the cardinal directions. At one time the orientation of the Longhouse probably had symbolic significance, but today it does not affect the groupings or movements. In fact, the groupings differ from Longhouse to Longhouse with regard to layout. The groupings depend on social factors of sex and moiety.

Seating Regulations

In general, however, the groupings in each of the four Longhouses follow the same traditions, and they fit the same nineteenth century furnishings. Around the four walls benches are fixed on two tiers of platforms; in Seneca Longhouse there is only one tier of benches at each of the two short ends. Men, women, and children occupy the benches according to sex and moiety. During the Midwinter medicine rites they are seated differently than they are during the summer ceremonies, all performances of the Four Sacred Rituals and the social dances.

For the medicine rites, women occupy a long and a narrow wall, and the men the other two walls, as shown in Part III for the Onondaga Bear Dance (Figure 12) and the Upper Cayuga Buffalo Dance (Figure 16). For the other events each sex occupies one half of the building (*see* Figure 2). The moiety divisions run at right angles to the sex divisions. Iroquois clans are grouped into two moieties or 'sides' in a manner which differs for each tribe. Cayuga moieties have the totemic names of Wolf and Turtle. In the other two Longhouse tribes, moieties are simply numbered 1 and 2 (Fenton, 1951).

Near each end of the Longhouse there is a fire, one for women, one for men. The fires, which are in wood stoves today, provide heat in the winter and serve a ritualistic function in the summer. The stoves are the focus for tobacco-burning invocations, and they provide ashes for the False Face ceremony. Sometimes the men's stove is the centre for the early stages of a dance. The women's stove is the centre for the clustering of foods for the terminal feast. The stoves are identified with the sexes in accordance with the 'summer' arrangement shown on the comparative diagram (Figure 2).

Movable rustic benches accommodate the singers for dances that require special singers. Most commonly, the bench is placed in the centre of the floor space. At the beginning of medicine rites, the patient or patients sit next to the singers. When there are many singers or patients, two benches provide face-to-face seating facilities. When a dance occupies the centre of the floor (Eagle and Striking-a-Stick), the benches are placed in the centre of the men's long wall so that dancers have the entire floor space. Then the singers, instead of facing each other, face the audience and the dancers. When a dance is self-

accompanied, that is, when the singers are also dance leaders, the benches are removed.

Locomotion

When a ceremony swings into action, sex and moiety assignments persevere. Female Faithkeepers have been busy in the cookhouse, but they enter as men offer prayers and speeches. Men sing on the benches or at the head of the dance line, sometimes with female assistance. It is almost always the men who start a collective dance; sometimes they monopolize a dance. Women, however, do not remain inactive. They soon follow men in collective rounds. Women start some dances, such as the Chicken Dance, and they monopolize others. In all dances there are specific traditions for male or female participation, and for relationships between them—whether they are to separate, alternate, pair, or couple. The list at the end of chapter 3 (p. 22–23) shows the sex groupings of the various dances.

The leaders, as well as the singers, follow moiety regulations, though these are less strict for secular dances. Song leaders should belong to opposite sides, whether they sit on a bench or whether they move at the head of a dance line. If the first singer belongs to moiety 1, his helper should belong to moiety 2, or vice versa. At least the first four dancers in a line should follow moiety patterns.

Likewise, women should enter a line paired with a 'cousin,' that is, a moiety opposite. Sometimes pairs of women squeeze in between pairs of men, as in Fish Dance. The paired women must be 'cousins.' This arrangement requires that each woman is next to a man of the opposite moiety.

These moiety patterns are not obvious as are the sex arrangements, but they appear by means of special symbols as shown in the drawings of Part III, Figures 19, 66, 68.

Another important form of interrelation is that of spectators and performers. The dancers navigate around the stove or, more usually, the central singers' bench; the spectators sitting on the platform in a 'theatre-in-the-round' pattern are potential performers. A few dances, like the War Dance and the False Face Dance, are restricted to a special group. Usually anyone may enter the ring during the course of the performance, in accordance with sex and moiety patterns. In the Great Feather and Drum dances, everyone, even an inept and aged dancer, is expected to join in for a while as an act of worship, and mothers carry babies in their arms as they dance. Again, anyone may return to his seat when he wants to.

What usually happens is this. The singers introduce the dance with a chant or several chants. The dance leaders begin to navigate around a stove or, usually, around the central bench. After the first dance song they amble. Then more people enter during the next song and the next, women usually later than men. Thus the line grows and circles the entire area of the Longhouse. Participants may join or retire, but in general there is a crescendo. After the last note of the final song, they all disperse, either to their seats or to the exterior of the Longhouse.

Entrances and Exits

Although most choreographic activity takes place within the building, there

is continuous traffic through the door or doors. The floor plan in Figure 2 shows that Onondaga Longhouse has only one door, situated in the centre of the southeast wall, through which everyone must enter and leave. The other buildings have two doors; Seneca and Lower Cayuga have one door at each narrow end, one end for men and one for women; Soursprings has two doors near two opposite corners. Though, officially, men and women should enter at the proper place, it is no misdemeanor to use the other door. There are several windows to provide light and ventilation in the summer, but the windows have no choreographic function. The doors are sometimes used for dramatic purposes.

Two dances make dramatic use of the men's door. In the Masked Dances the impersonators arrive from the outside, announcing their approach by knocking and moaning. They crawl and tumble through the door. After the ceremony they go out through the door into the cold outside. At the beginning of the Drum Dance the singers intone three introductory chants, while the male leaders assemble outside the entrances. The men file into the building and encircle the singers during the first dance song. I observed this behaviour during the Onondaga Big Green Corn Festival.

Usually the door serves a more utilitarian purpose as late comers and early leavers casually amble in or out. A dancer may walk out to cool off or to chat with friends standing or sitting in the driveway or in cars. This is especially frequent in warm weather. A woman may at any time leave with a restless infant, though she may hesitate to create a disturbance during a prayer. The cooks enter as their duties permit and as they consider it timely to carry in provisions. At the end of a long and strenuous dance there is a general dash for the doorway and the fresh air beyond it. After an interval the worshippers reassemble for the next act of the drama.

At the very end, when the food has been distributed, families depart casually and leisurely.

Thus, in addition to the regulations, the activities include informal comings and goings, both within and without the Longhouse buildings.

Summer Seating Arrangements of Longhouses

1. Soursprings Cayuga Longhouse
   Moiety 1. Wolf
   2. Turtle
2. Onondaga Longhouse
   Moiety 1. Wolf, Turtle, and other clans
   2. Deer, Bear, and other clans
   (numbering for convenience, not used by Iroquois)
3. Seneca Longhouse
   Moiety 1. Wolf, Turtle, Bear
   2. Deer
4. Lower Cayuga Longhouse
   Same as Soursprings Cayuga Longhouse

(*See* Speck, 1955: 29 for list of clans.)

The Longhouse measures about 25 by 50 feet; Seneca Longhouse is somewhat narrower, and Lower Cayuga Longhouse is somewhat wider and longer.

SIX NATIONS RESERVE

A. Forest Theatre

B. Ohsweken

C. Indian Village

LONGHOUSES

1. Soursprings Cayuga

2. Onondaga

3. Seneca

4. Lower Cayuga

FIGURE 1—MAP OF SIX NATIONS RESERVE

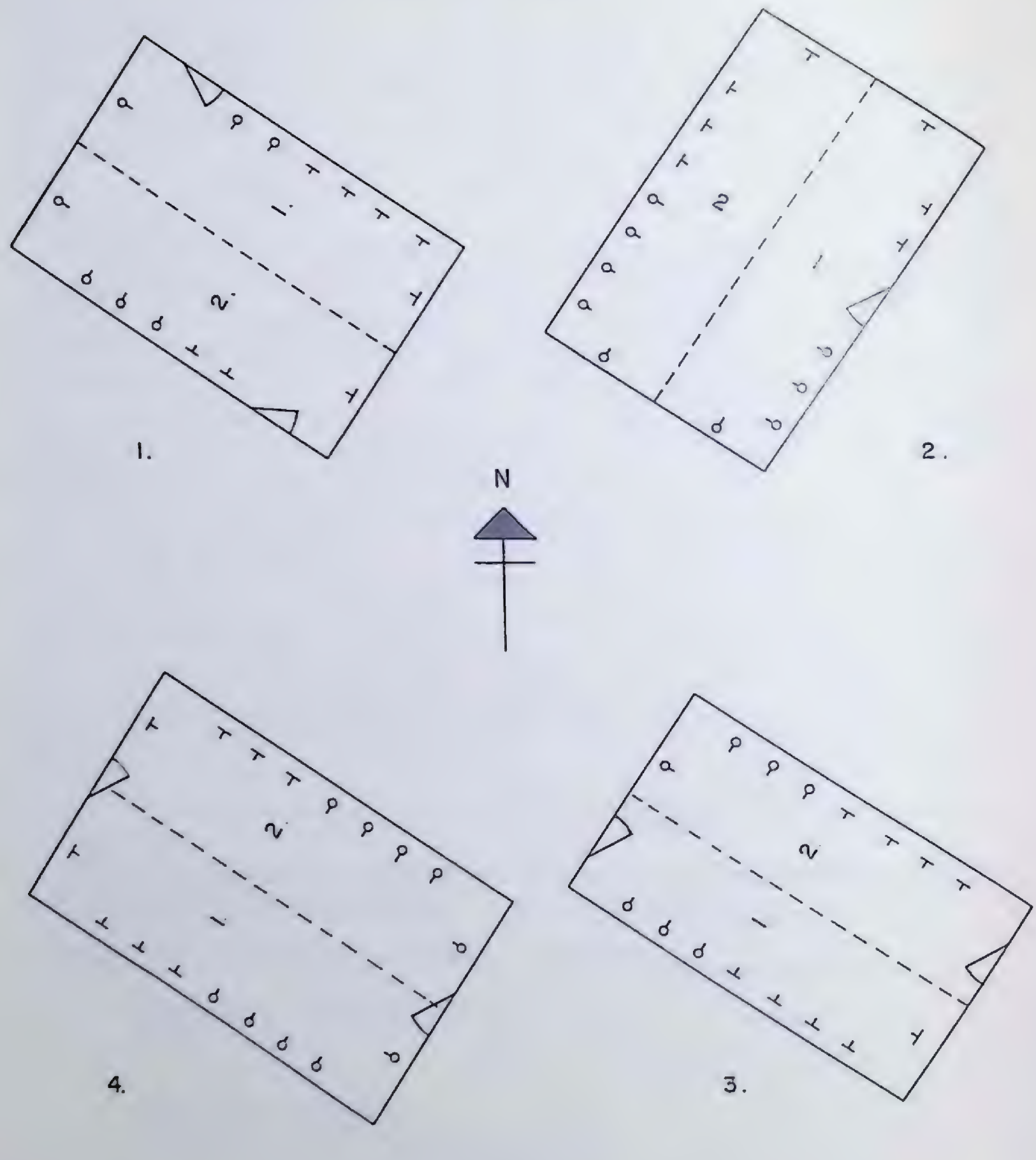


FIGURE 2—*Summer Seating arrangements of longhouses*

The doors, variously placed, are used by the sex or moiety near the particular door. Winter arrangements are different (*see* Figures 11 and 16). A double tier of benches lines the inside of all Longhouses except for Seneca, which has a single row at each of the two short ends. All the Longhouses are constructed of large logs, but only Soursprings has preserved its picturesque exterior. The others are faced with clapboards. All the Longhouses are finished on the inside with board panelling. The old cookhouses remain in their log cabin state, but the more recent side buildings, used for a male dressing room and for meal serving during the Six Nations Meetings, have a prosaic siding construction.

PLATE I

Soursprings Cayuga Longhouse, looking west.
Dining Room for Six Nations meetings and old cookhouse.

Women's entrance to Soursprings Longhouse, with
Brenda Thomas, grand-daughter of Faithkeeper, Esther Jamieson.

PLATE II

Onondaga Longhouse, looking north.
Longhouse and new dining room finished in clapboards,
old cookhouse showing original logs.

PLATE III

Seneca Longhouse, looking southwest, from road.
Original logs are covered with clapboard.

Seneca Longhouse, looking northwest, men's entrance.
Old log cookhouse in background, near women's entrance.
Newer dining room faced with siding.

PLATE IV

Lower Cayuga Longhouse, looking southwest, from road.
Cookhouse and dining room to left, by women's entrance.
All buildings faced with clapboard.

PART II:
CHOREOGRAPHY

Choreography is defined as the writing down of dances. Verbal descriptions are not adequate, although they may supplement written symbols. For all dances, written symbols should show the formations, that is, the path of movement, the participants, and their body action in space and time. The designs of any kind of dancing, including that of the Iroquois, must solve special problems of style.

Since ground plans involve only two dimensions, they can be shown by track drawings from a 'bird's-eye-view.' Body actions are three-dimensional and are sometimes complicated. The notation must reduce the motion to two dimensional designs.

The ultimate problem is the combination of the choreographic aspects with each other and with the music. The symbols are aligned next to the music, above the melodic and percussion score, with texts below the melody. If there is no change in the ground plan, it is easy to write this next to the score, above or to one side, or at times below it. Any changes during the song require the use of ingenious devices for clarity. If a ritual has several distinct parts, these usually need separate layouts on separate pages. This is frequently the case in Longhouse dances.

CHAPTER THREE

Ground Plans

Most Iroquois dances are circuits in a counterclockwise direction. In one type, the Men's Individual Chant, the circuit has the shape of a rectangle, because a single man or a pair of men walks from station to station near the corners of the building. Usually a leader guides a file in a circular or elliptical path. The formation is circular at the beginning of a dance suite and grows to an ellipse in the course of the suite. As the dancers go round and round, they must accommodate themselves to the size and shape of the floor space, which is rectangular. Hence they must stretch the circle at both ends. When the crowd exceeds the limits of the space, the tail-end extends into a kind of spiral; that is, it overlaps the outside line. When there are some two hundred men and women, as in Great Feather Dances, the line may wrap itself within the space three times, even though the women are close together and occupy a minimum of space.

A circle, ellipse, or spiral can easily be sketched above the notation score, if there are no convolutions. If there is a simple change, as in the Buffalo Dance, it is practical to represent the pattern by winding the successive parts of the music around the ground plan. When there are many different steps or formations in the course of a single song, it is clearer to indicate the circuit and to sketch the formations between the lines.

In several dances, such as the Duck Dance, there is a double file. This raises no problems, for the personal symbols, which will be mentioned presently, indicate the pairs.

In two rituals, the Eagle Dance and the Striking-a-Stick Dance, the performers proceed in a straight line. The body action is placed parallel to the music, but the ground plan and its changes must be in the margin, on the right side of the page. Again, a few dances, such as at the beginning of False Face and War dances, employ no formation, and therefore require no ground plan.

It is not always necessary to sketch the ground plan within its setting, because the Longhouse, its furnishings, and the spectators remain essentially the same for certain dance types. It is enough to draw the background for several typical rituals, namely, the Onondaga winter arrangement for Bear Dance, the Cayuga winter pattern for Buffalo Dance, and the Onondaga summer arrangement for Drum Dance. The last-named is the same as in Figure 2. However, it may be desirable to show the bench or benches, their location, and the placement of the personnel on the benches, when separate benches are required for singers.

It is always essential to symbolize the personnel, the dancers, the singers, and sex and moiety affiliations. Also, one must know which way performers face, along the line of progression or at right angles to this, facing the centre. Similarly, one must know whether the singers sit face-to-face or side by side.

If partners hold hands, this is shown by a connecting line between the 'personal symbols.'

Figure 3 gives the personal symbols and the legend for their identification. They are placed along the solid line of the path, with an arrow showing the direction in which they are moving. It is superfluous to draw a symbol for each participant when there is a crowd; dotted lines mean that the dance line continues in the same manner.

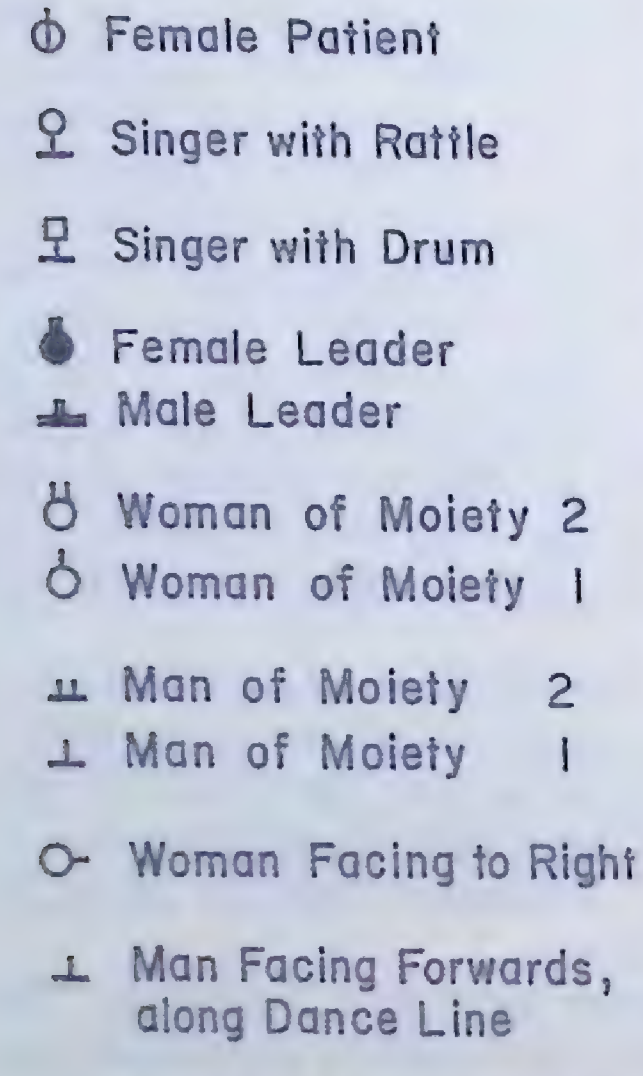


FIGURE 3—*Personal symbols*

Men are indicated by a straight line with a tick (in the form of a T), women by a small circle with a tick. The tick always points in the direction that the dancer faces. Leaders are often identified as to moiety; moiety 1 is identified by one tick, moiety 2 by two ticks. In secular dances, where moiety patterns are not strict, the single and double ticks are used to clarify ground plans.

Sex and moiety alignments follow traditional choreographic rules. Usually the men and women enter the dance line according to moiety. When the dancers are of one sex, they simply alternate the sides. When the dancers are mixed, the arrangement might be as follows; man of side 1, woman of side 2, man of side 2, woman of side 1.

For sex grouping, the regulations follow a gradation of sanctity. The most esoteric dances include one sex, with possibly a leader of the opposite sex. Several other less sacred dances, such as the War Dance, are for men alone or women alone. In some ritual dances, notably Feather and Drum dances, men lead and women follow. In agricultural and some social dances the sexes alternate. They pair up—two men, two women—in several double-file social dances. A dance for partners of the opposite sex is rare.

The following list shows the traditional groupings for the rites and dances described in Part III. Esoteric rites are not included here. In all women's special dances, except the Planters' Society Dance, men participate as singers.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE SEXES IN A DANCE LINE

Men Only

False Face Dance
Husk Face Dance
War Dance
Eagle Dance
Individual Chant
Beginning of many mixed dances

Women Only

Feast for the Dead (join in song)
Women's Shuffle Dance
Women Planters (also singers)
Four Nights Harvest Dance (join in song)

Sexes Segregated, Men First

Bear Dance
Buffalo Dance
False Face Round
Feather Dance
Drum Dance
Cayuga Corn Dance
Shaking-a-Squash Dance
Robin Dance

Men and Women in Alternation

Seneca Corn Dance
Bean Dance
Trotting Dance
Cherokee Stomp
Chicken Dance

Alternate Pairs (two women between two men), *Single File*

Fish Dance
Raccoon Dance
Sharpening-a-Stick Dance
Choose-a-Partner Dance

Double File, Pairing of Same Sex, Alternation

Shaking-a-Bush Dance
Pigeon Dance
Duck Dance

Partners, Man with Woman

Onondaga Corn Dance
Alligator Dance

Cross-over between Partners—Same Sex

End of Bear Dance
End of Buffalo Dance

Cross-over with Opposite Sex

False Face Thumbs-up
Striking-a-Stick Dance
Garters Dance
Shaking-a-Bush Dance
Fish Type Dances

CHAPTER FOUR

Steps, Postures, Gestures

DANCE NOTATION

Dancers progress along a path by means of footwork. Although they do not always change the positions of the torso and arms, they sometimes bend and gesticulate. The symbols for movement must identify the parts of the body in motion, and they must distinguish the direction of the motion, its quality, and its timing.

Several systems of notation have been used in attempts to solve this problem. The present script has the advantages of simplicity and speedy drawing, for it is based on short lines and curves, like Gregg shorthand. The shapes of the basic symbols derive from the human skeleton simplified into a 'stick figure.' The symbols are placed on either side of a line or lines in such a way as to identify the choreographer with the body symbols, not in mirror fashion. The symbols start at the left of the page and progress along the line as though a person were walking along a chalk line.

If all body parts are drawn, a staff requires five parallel lines, and the torso is drawn on the centre line, the arms in the columns to the right and left, the legs in the next outer spaces, and the feet on the extreme outside. When the body is erect, three lines suffice for legs and feet; for footwork alone one line is adequate, with the right foot on the right and the left foot on the left. Figure 4 shows symbols for foot and leg in various positions. Most Iroquois dancing concentrates on the steps.

To show the direction of motion, the choreographer adopts the 'bird's-eye-view' that he uses for ground plans. He places the motion symbols in relation to the foot symbol (*see* Figure 5).

The motion symbols indicate the dimension and pattern of the action; whether the foot touches the ground as in a pat or a walk, whether it slides along the ground or brushes the ground with a sliding and lifting motion, or whether the motion is vertical as in a hop or leap. The most important symbols for Iroquois dances appear in Figure 6. Most of them show forward or sideward motion. They can also represent backward or

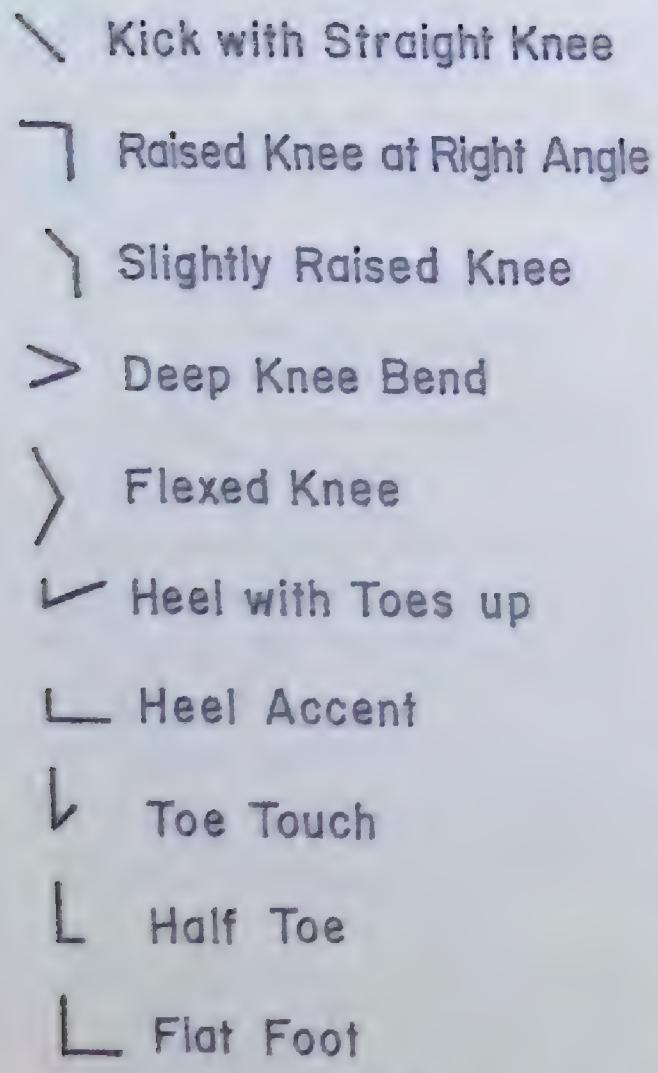


FIGURE 4—*Symbols for positions of right foot and leg*

oblique directions. If there is no direction symbol, the foot steps in the same place.

Usually a dancer exerts an average amount of energy in Iroquois dancing, but occasionally he moves softly (*piano* in musical terminology), and fairly often he moves with accents or with force (*forte* in musical terminology). Though there are many gradations of force, the present scores distinguish the average impulse by lines of average thickness, and strength by heavy lines. For occasional pussy-footing the drawing is extra fine. It is better to incorporate dynamics with the symbols and to reserve accent marks for the music.

The same devices can be applied to other parts of the body, if there is no objection to a complicated score. If simplicity is paramount, all lines can be drawn alike, and shadings of dynamics would thus be ignored.

The writing of the symbols must include consideration of the timing of the action. In field notes the rhythm by musical notation is marked next to the body symbol. However, finished scores should extend along the melodic line next to the percussion accompaniment. Both the symbols and the musical scores are spaced according to the time values; that is, the duration of a quarter note occupies twice as much horizontal space as the duration of an eighth note.

When a step is repeated or reversed, a repeat or reversal sign will suffice, and the rest of the tune can be spaced without regard to duration, according to the custom among musicians.

FIGURE 5—*Movement symbols for right foot*

In Iroquois dancing, typical steps belong to specific dances. The most recurrent step is the trot or stomp (*gadashot*), which is danced by both men and women. Another important step is the Fish-type (*gendzoenoka*), which has been compared to the Charleston step. The Women's Shuffle step (*enskanye*) courses through many dances. Other steps are limited to one or two dances. The most important steps, which are illustrated in Figures 7–10, show knee action, direction, force, and timing in relation to the percussion beat.

Many of the scores lack the symbols for posture and gesture because the torso is erect and the arms hang relaxed. However, the scores in Figures 8 and 9 are for dances with gestures, which include typical torso and arm motions. In order to clarify the actions, the same postures appear in stick figures.

For still further clarification, consult the following descriptions.

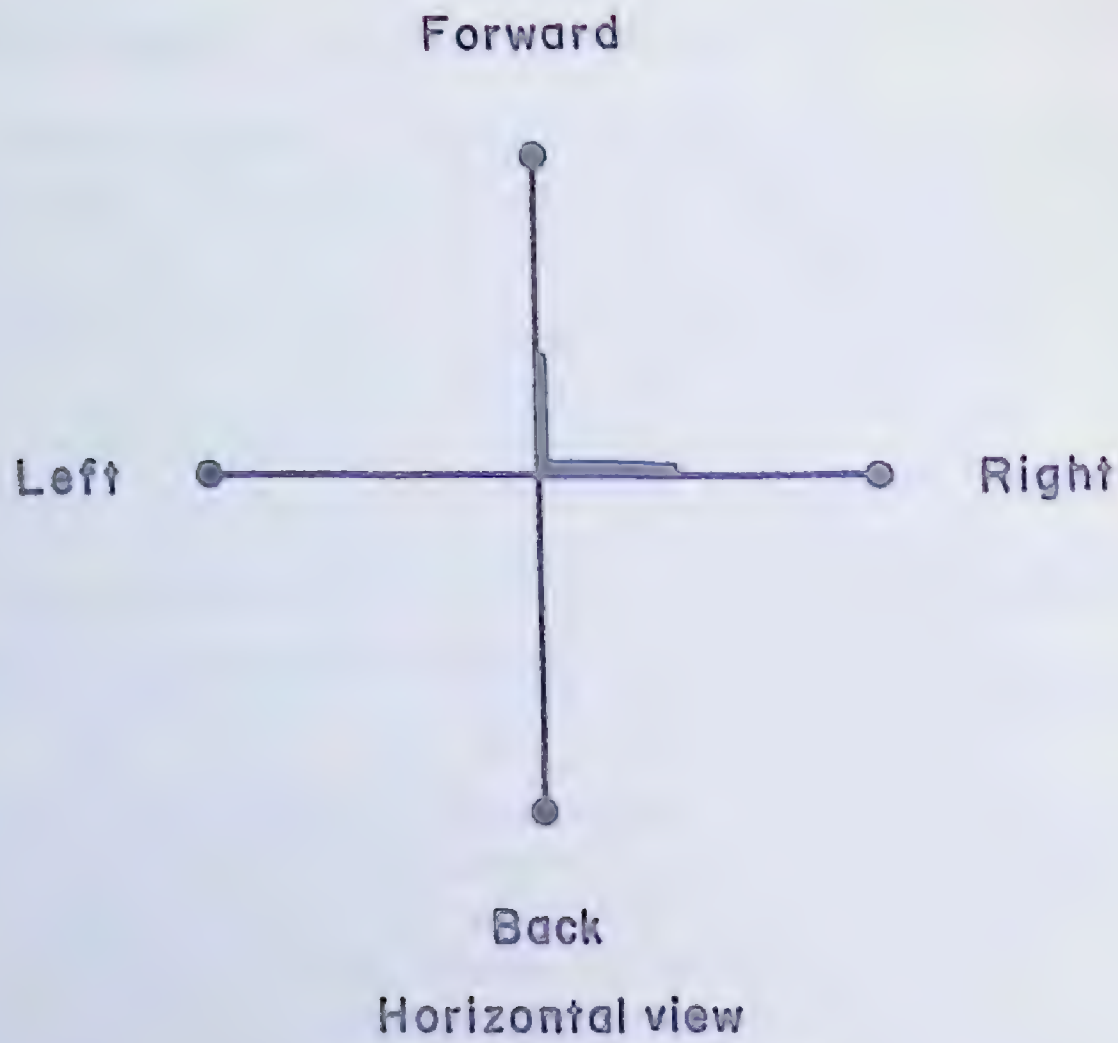


FIGURE 6—*The directions*

a. *Plain Stomp, Forwards:*
   1. Right foot shuffle forward, slightly flexing knees forwards.
   2. Left foot drag up to right foot, flexing knees.

   Plain Stomp, Sidewards:
   1. Right foot shuffle to right, flex knees simultaneously.
   2. Left foot steps next to right, flex knees slightly.

   Repeat.

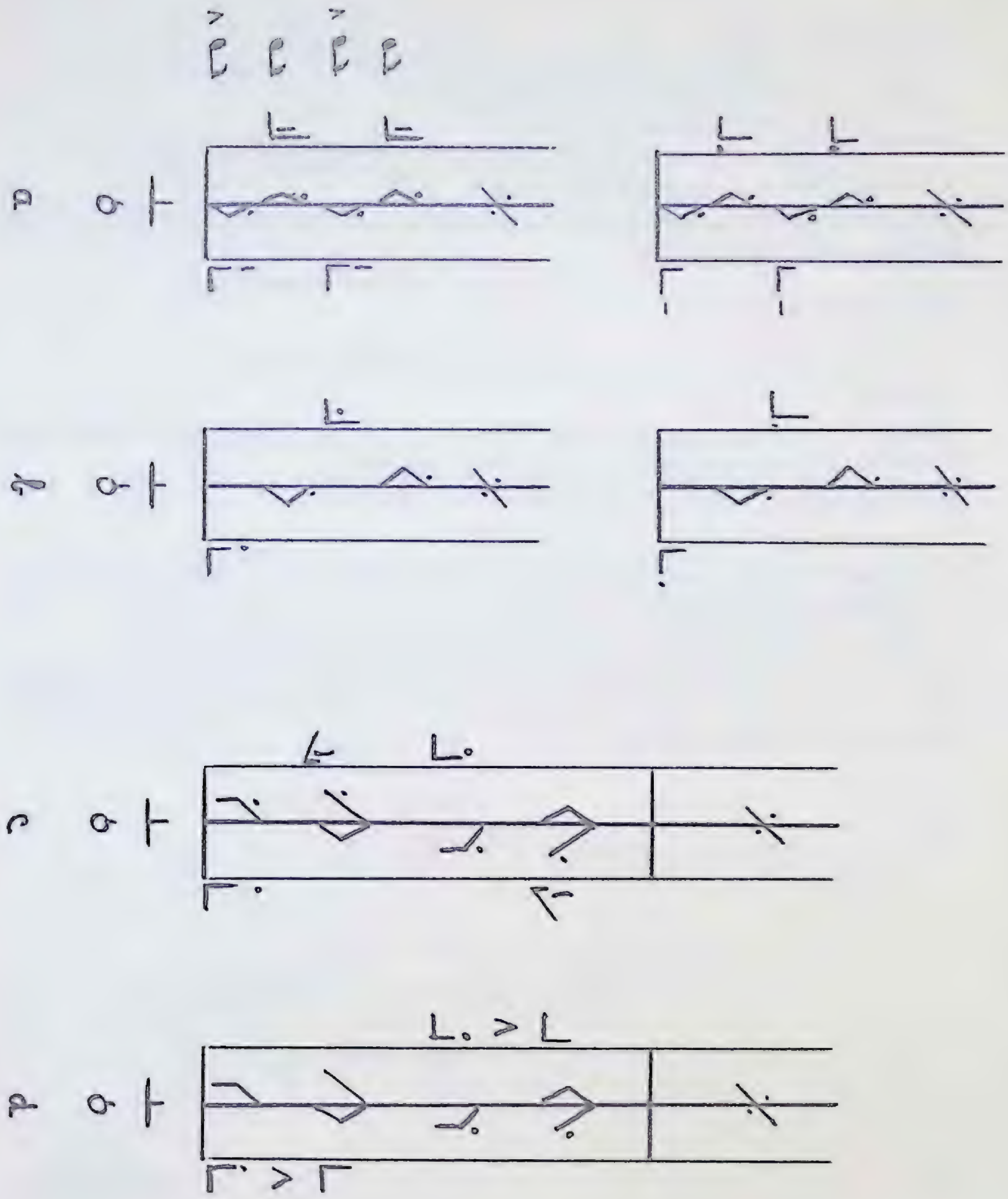
b. *Step-bend*, a slow stomp variant:
   1. Right foot step forwards.
   2. Flex knee, on offbeat.
   3. Bring left foot next to right foot.
   4. Flex knee.

   Repeat.
   Same sidewards.

c. *Step-kick:*
   1. Right foot step forwards, raising left knee forwards.
   2. Brush left heel forwards, straightening left knee in kick. (Sometimes kick without heel-brush.)
   3. Left foot forwards step.
   4. Brush and kick right.

d. *Hop-kick:*
   1. Right foot step forward, raising left knee somewhat.
   2. Hop, while kicking left forward and flexing right knee.
   3, 4. Same with opposite feet.

   Repeat.



a. Plain Stomp
b. Step-bend
c. Step-kick
d. Hop-kick

FIGURE 7—*Symbols for stomps and variants*

a. *Men's Basic Step:*

1. Right foot emphatic step forward, flexing knee, raising left knee.
2. Left foot glide to right, with straight knee.
3. Right foot step forward as before.
4. Left foot brush forwards and straighten knees, kicking left.

Reverse. This is a two-step and brush.

Meanwhile, torso slightly bent forwards; arms extended to sides, wing-fashion, with flexed elbows.

b. *Variant on Men's Step:*

1, 2, 3. As in a.

4. Twist right foot until toes point in; raise left knee bent.

Reverse.

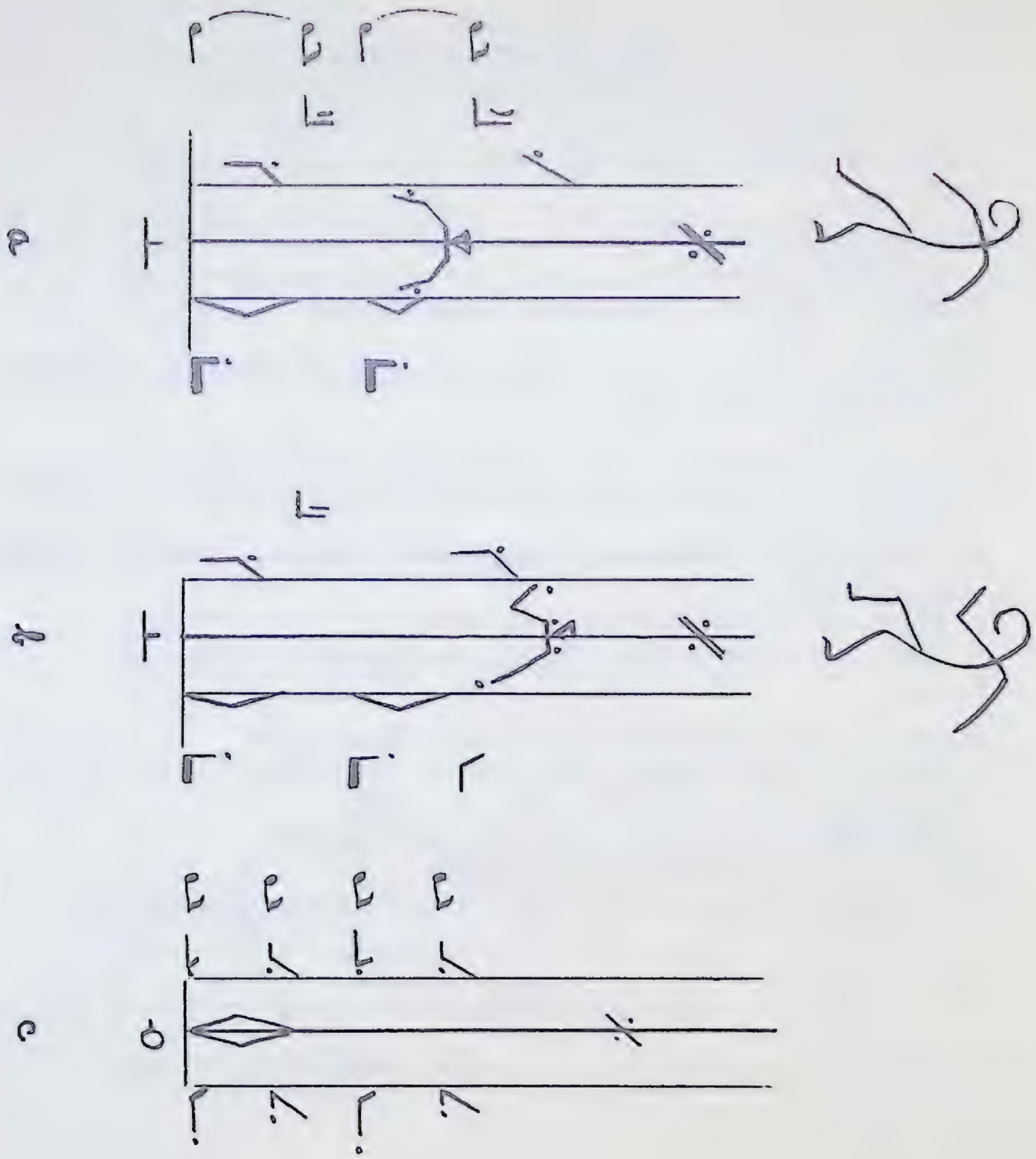
Meanwhile, shoulders forwards, head turned to right; right arm flexed forward, left arm straight towards back, obliquely.

Reverse this position for reversal of foot action.

c. *Women's Step:*

1. Swivel to right onto both heels, turning right foot in and left foot out, feet close together.
2. Swivel right onto both toes, turning right foot out, left foot in.

Repeat this, with knees slightly flexed continuously, no rebound or emphasis; in quick duple time against triple time of men's step. Body erect, no gestures or changes in step.



a. Men's Step
   Accents on
   right foot
b. Variant on
   Men's Step
c. Women's Step

FIGURE 8—*Feather Dance steps*

a. *Emphatic Men's Jump-Hop, War Dance:*
   1. Both feet thump heavily in straddle, flexing knees sidewards.
   2. Hop emphatically on right foot, raising left knee obliquely.
   3. Jump onto both feet, as in 1.
   4. Hop on left foot, raising right knee.

   Repeat.

b. *Basic Men's False Face Step:*
   1. Both feet thump as in *a*.
   2. Hop on right, raising left knee obliquely to side.

   Reverse.

   Meanwhile, torso tilts towards right, then towards left; arms flexed and raised to side, slightly forwards.

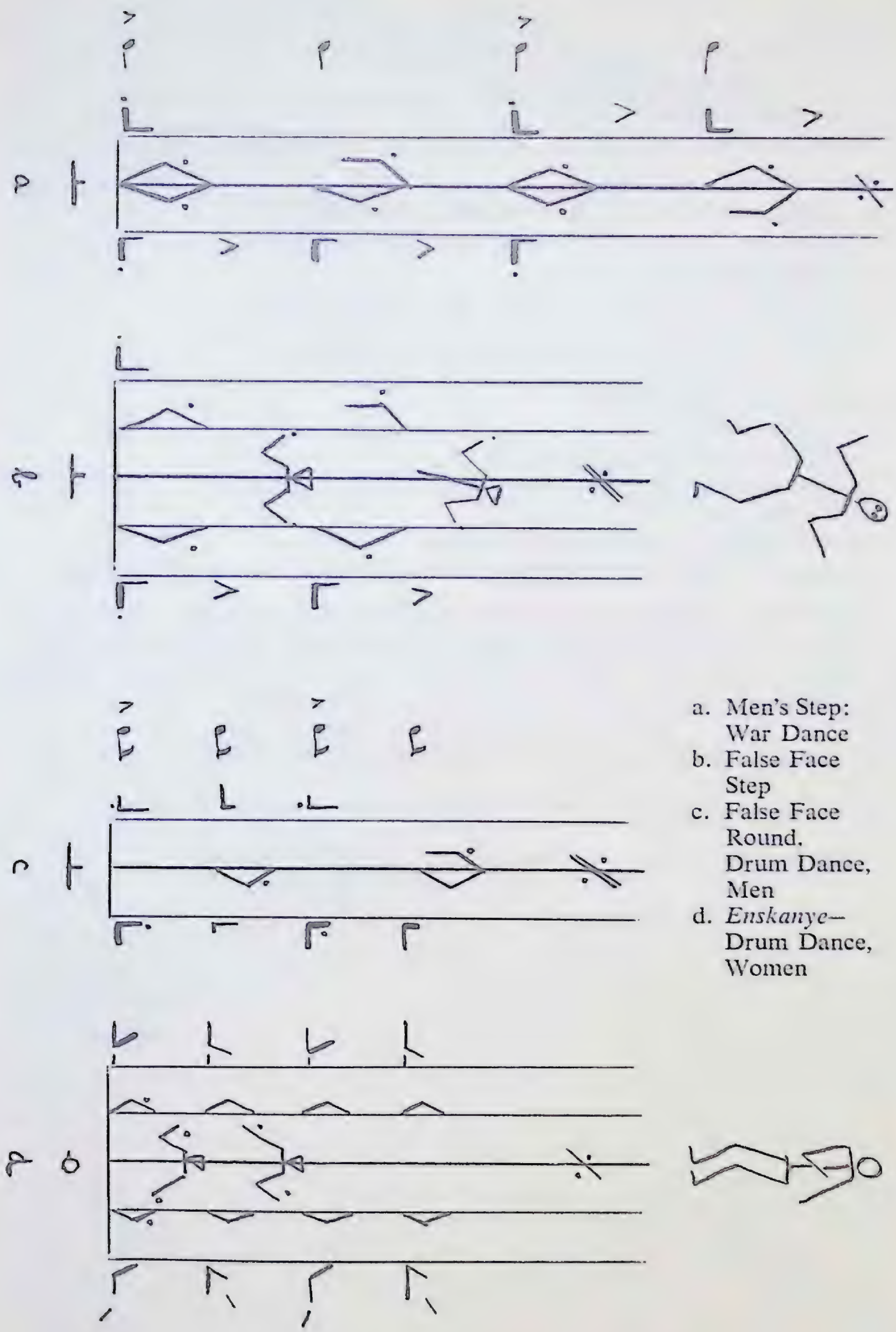
c. *Men's Basic Step for False Face Round and Drum Dance:*
   1. Right foot step emphatically forwards, leaving left half-toe on ground, behind right foot.
   2. Lower left heel and raise right heel (leaving half-toe on ground), sharply flexing right knee.
   3. Right foot emphatically forwards, as in 1.
   4. Right heel thump in place, flexing knee, raising left knee.

   Reverse.

d. *Women's Shuffle Step (enskanye) for same dances as c:*
   1. Sawfoot to right, turning right foot in and pulling it back obliquely; turning left foot out and dragging it to right.
   2. Twist both feet to right, pulling right foot obliquely.

   Foot accent and knee flexion on odd beats.

   Torso erect, but arms alternately flex forward and extend to the side.



a. Men's Step: War Dance
b. False Face Step
c. False Face Round, Drum Dance, Men
d. *Enskanye*— Drum Dance, Women

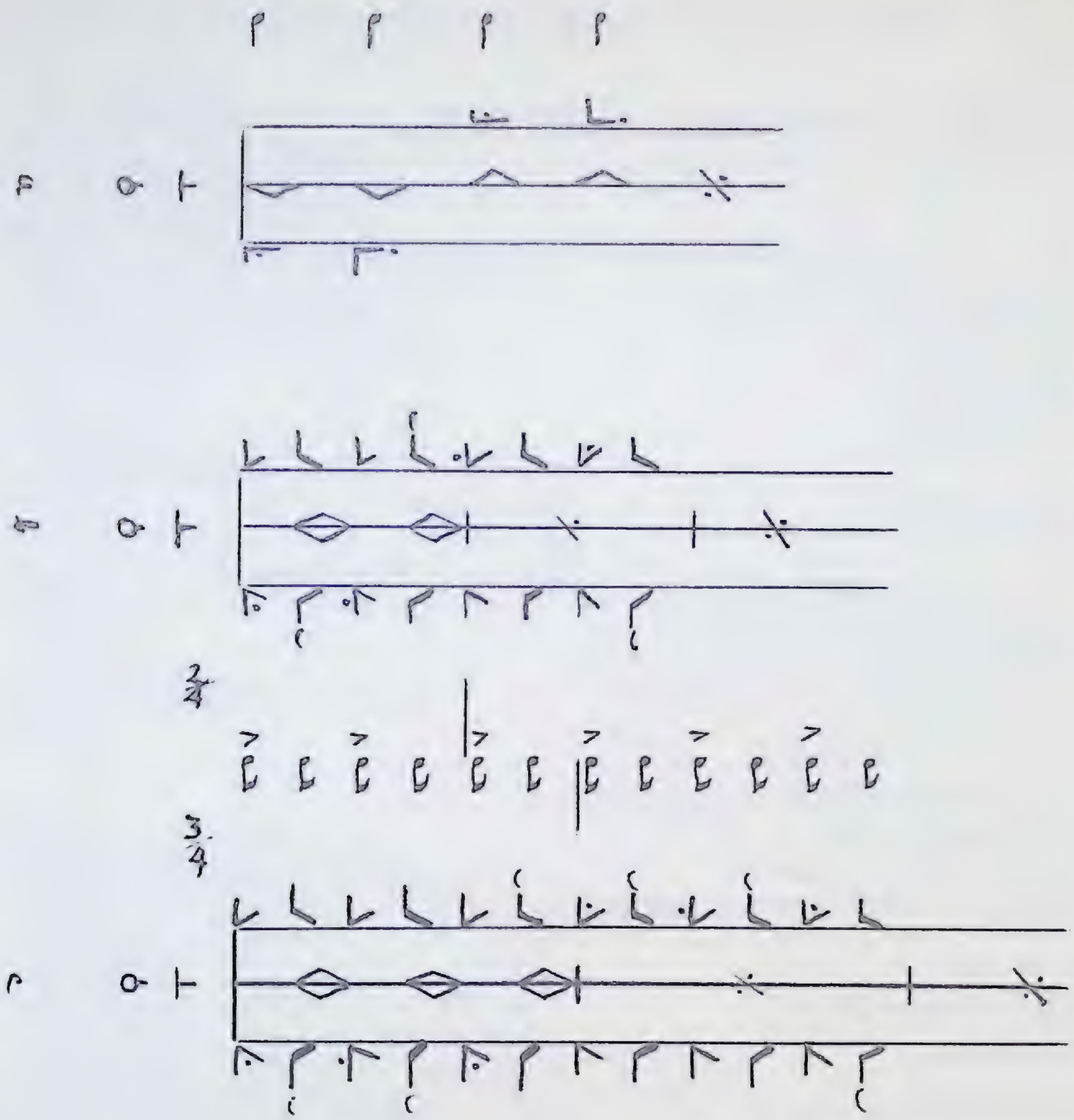
FIGURE 9—*Heel-thumps*

a. *Pat Step:*
   1. Right half-toe pat ground slightly in front.
   2. Right foot step forwards.
   3, 4. Same with left foot.
   This is always in slow time.

b. *Fish Step in Duple Time:*
   1. Both feet turned out, right in front a few inches.
   2. Both feet turn in, with accent, right brushing to side.
   3. Both feet in, right in back.
   4. Both feet turn out with accent, left brushes to side.
   5–8. Reverse, left foot stepping backwards and forwards.
   This fast step is the basic one for songs in duple time.

c. *Fish Step in Triple Time:*
   1–4. Same as in *b*.
   5. Both feet turn out, right in front.
   6. Both feet turn in, left brush to side.
   7–12. Reverse.
   Accents and knee flexions on even beats.
   No gesture, body erect, bobbing up on odd beats, down on even beats.

When these steps occur in the choreographies of Part III, they need not be described nor sketched in detail. For the dances listed below, the basic footwork is in accordance with the movements described above. Simple walking and, sometimes, elaborate improvised variants act as 'fillers.'



a. Pat-step
b. Duple Time
c. Triple Time

FIGURE 10—*Fish Dance steps*

CLASSIFICATION OF DANCES ACCORDING TO STEP TYPE

Stomp:

Forwards	*Sidewards*	*Backwards*	*Step-flex*
Bear Dance			
			Buffalo Dance
			Feast for the Dead
	Four Nights Dance	Four Nights Dance	
Trotting Dance	Trotting Dance		
Corn Dance	Corn Dance		
Bean Dance			
Squash Dance			
Fishing Dance			
			Robin Dance
Pigeon Dance		Pigeon Dance	
Duck Dance		Duck Dance	
		Shaking-the-Bush Dance	
Garters Dance	Garters Dance		
Alligator Dance			
Cherokee Stomp			

Step-kick and Hop-kick:

Bear, Buffalo, False Face dances; end
Four Nights Dance
Raccoon Dance, beginning
Shaking-the-Bush Dance, sometimes

Jump-hop:

Wooden Faces Dance
War Dance

Feather Dance Steps:

Only in Great Feather Dance

Men's Foot Thumping:

False Face Round
Striking-a-Stick Dance
Drum Dance

Women's Shuffle:

Transvestite Husk Faces
False Face Round
Feast for the Dead, end
Striking-a-Stick Dance
Drum Dance
Women's Shuffle Dances
Four Nights Dance, end
Chicken Dance, beginning

Fish Step:

Fish Dance
Raccoon Dance
Chicken Dance
Sharpening-a-Stick Dance
Choose-a-Partner Dance

Pat Step or *Step Pat:*

Feather Dance, slow beats
Fish Dance and others, first measures

PLATE V

Soursprings Longhouse.
Chief and singer, Deskaheh
(Alexander General), 1948,
with Edward Kurath.

Willie John, singing
partner of Deskaheh,
with Bill Johnson as
false face dancer, 1962.

Soursprings female faithkeepers, Green Corn Ceremony, 1960.

Esther Jamieson,
Soursprings faithkeeper, and
grand-daughter Brenda Thomas,
1963.
Esther with Towisas Turtle
Rattle.

PLATE VII

Onondaga Longhouse Chief and singer, Joseph Logan, with Mrs. Logan and Gertrude Kurath, 1950.

Onondaga Longhouse faithkeeper and singer, Anna Green, by her home, 1952.

PLATE VIII

Carrie Logan Hill, Scottie Hill, and some of their children, 1952.

Anna Green, Peter and Mrs. Buck, with braided chains of corn, by the Buck home, 1950.

PLATE IX

Peter Buck, Lower Cayuga ritualist and singer, of Tutelo descent, beside Onondaga Longhouse cookhouse, 1952.

Mrs. Peter Buck and two of her grandchildren, Gordie and Lavinia, in costume for Green Corn Dance, 1950.

Roy Buck, Tutelo-Cayuga singer and ritualist, son of Peter, with water drum, 1963.

PLATE XI

Men in typical postures for drum and war dances

Photos by
Marius Barbeau
1950

False Faces

Feather Dance

Photos by Marius Barbeau

Cayuga Towisas—women planters
Photo by G. Kurath

PART III:

DANCE AND SONG IN THE CEREMONIES

The following chapters will recreate the dances and songs of the ceremonies by means of choreographic and musical symbols. The descriptions start with the first Longhouse activity during the Midwinter season. They present each day's drama as the year's festivities unfold.

The present concept of spirit forces would place the Four Rituals for the Creator first (Fenton, 1936; Kurath, 1963), but the aboriginal ideology and the placement in the ceremonials have determined the present arrangement (Kurath, 1961). The narrative begins with animal rites, continues with rites for sky spirits, then with dances for agricultural spirits, and concludes with the miscellaneous assembly of social dances, some of which are of animal origin.

Since the basic steps appear in the previous choreographies, their script can be simplified in the integrated choreographies. Complete, five-staff notations would be cumbersome in combination with ground plans, music, and song texts. However, unusual new steps will appear in detail, with written descriptions. A few further variants will illustrate Chapter 10.

Most of the song texts are burden syllables. Some have meaningful words. The texts for the Midwinter Rites and the *Towisas* of Jemima Gibson are from the field notes of William N. Fenton.

CHAPTER FIVE

Midwinter Dream and Medicine Rites

Ashes Stirring Chants or Dream Songs

The new-fire rite includes singing and dramatic activity, but there is no dancing. The chiefs select two male leaders, one from each of the two moieties. These two men function as singer and as speaker. They stir the ashes in the two Longhouse fires, using special wooden paddles with clan emblems. Then they circuit the homes, stirring ashes and singing and praying. They repeat the Longhouse rite, and then all people stir the ashes with paddles of their own clan. The leaders give thanks to the Creator for seeing the Midwinter dances again as they lead the people in a procession around the fires.

The above ceremony initiates the festival of renewal; medicine rites are renewed after the year's cures, or in response to a person's dream. Each year the renewals and dream fulfilments differ, and the order of events must vary. The following important dances almost always appear in part or in full.

Bear Dance or Nyagwai

Bear Dance leads other dances in frequency. The full form of the Bear Dance, *gayowa guwa*, is choreographed in Figures 12–15. For renewals it can be shortened to *wenoska* (songs only) by omission of the first part.

I. Chants and tobacco invocation, with percussion tremolo. The patient or patients suffering from spasms caused by an offended bear spirit sit on the central bench next to a singer with a drum and a helper with a rattle. The male conductor sprinkles tobacco into the men's fire and says a prayer. Male and female society members (cured patients) blow berry juice on the patient.

II. Dance, to duple percussion beat which continues without pause between songs. As the first song speeds up, male conductors start to shuffle around the central actors; then female society members follow. Some dancers stomp and waddle like bears. They pass peanuts, the bear's favourite food, along the line, and anyone may take a dipperful of diluted berry juice from a pail on the floor.

III. Dancing with terminal antiphony. At the end of a song, the male dancers sing short responses to the singer's phrases. In the middle of the antiphony, everyone faces the centre and stomps to the right; then they return to the forward position, as in the Trotting Dance. The music and texts for the responses appear after the dotted bar lines above the staff.

IV. By now many spectators have joined in, and the dance line has stretched to an ellipse, perhaps including the stoves in its orbit. The patient has joined as an indication of the cure and becomes the first dancer. To fast

songs with an accented beat, dancers pair up by alternately facing the rear of the line. During part B they hop-kick and stamp *ad lib*. During the song repeat, the pairs cross over, then hop-kick during B, finishing the song with vigorous stamps. Male leaders puff and blow like bears.

Buffalo Dance or Degiyago

The cure for tense, hunched shoulders addresses the spirit buffalo. The ritual has the same structure as the Bear Dance and the same choice of complete or incomplete performance. The step and mime are distinctive, and they change somewhat during the ritual.

I. The curative ritual resembles that for the Bear, except that the society members do not spray berry juice.

II. Men start the dance line, and women follow. To each song, during the first rendering, everyone stomps sideward right as they face the central bench. During the brief tremolo they face about. Then, with backs to the bench, they stomp left during the song repeat.

III. The next section of the ritual differs from Part II only in the increased numbers, the joining of the patient, and the improvised mimetic clowning. Some dancers progress sidewards with heavy leaps. A few men leave the circle with hunched shoulders, to butt each other in pairs and to bellow or *ba-a-a*. They return to the dance line.

IV. The climax resembles the end of the Bear Dance. Everyone makes a quarter-turn to face a partner; odd dancers shuffle backwards, even dancers stomp forwards. Though the improvised hop-kick and cross-over have the same pattern as in the Bear Dance, they maintain a moderate tempo.

Dance for the Dead or Ohgiwe

The Feast for the Dead is a long ritual in many acts, with sixty-eight songs for the complete first part, the *Ohgiwe* proper (Fenton and Kurath, 1951). In renewals at Midwinter, society members commemorate an occasion when *Ohgiwe* served as a cure for melancholia or paralysis. The cast of female dancers and male song leaders performs a very shortened version, selecting a few songs from the cycle of sixty-eight.

I. Introductory songs by men only are to the accompaniment of a water drum or, if available, a special large drum. The beat changes from a tremolo to a duple beat and then to a slow beat syncopating the melody.

II. Female leaders line up in the centre during part A which is sung by the main male singer. During B all men sing, and the women, facing somewhat inwards, shuffle slowly forwards. Some of the women fold their arms, and all of them bow their heads. During part A of the song repeat, the female leaders 'absorb' the song by joining in, an octave higher than the men. In part B the men are silent, and the women finish the song without missing a step. This procedure recurs for the song series. After several songs, the main dancers vary the shuffle by little jumps or two-steps. The line of females grows longer.

III. The drum beat changes to a duple beat, and the step changes to a shuffle on every beat. The women still sing the repeats.

IV. The tempo speeds up. The men chant to a drum tremolo; then, by themselves, they repeat a short phrase with a quick duple beat. The women face the centre and end the rite with the *enskanye* shuffle. A sharp cry by the singers and a strong beat on the drums end the dance.

MASKED DANCES – HADUHI AND GADJISA

The complex of masked dances rarely appears in its entirety at the Midwinter Festival, but sections of masked dances frequently spice the program and may open the proceedings. The appearance of the Wooden False Faces and the Husk Faces brings drama and humour into the ceremonies. The Wooden False Faces include many forms of masks (*see* Part V): common faces, doorkeepers, or doctors. They represent wind and disease spirits, and they cure face ailments, such as toothache and nosebleed. The Husk Faces also use a number of mask types: ordinary Husk Faces, 'women' and grandfathers. They have power for fertility. According to the mythology, False Faces should arrive from the West and Husk Faces from the East, but today they enter by the most convenient door.

The entire ceremony includes four parts and takes place at special events in private homes as well as in the Longhouse during spring and autumn. The choreography and music are Cayuga, with the exception of several songs sung in the Seneca language.

I. Marching or Dream Song, reminiscent of the Ashes Stirring chant. Common Faces approach the Longhouse from the outside. Their leader sings the marching song, and they pound on the door with staves and large turtle-shell rattles. Meanwhile, in the building, the spectators wait in suspense, and the patients seat themselves on two adjacent benches, with a single singer.

II. Dance of Wooden Faces, to the singer's pounding of a turtle-shell rattle on the bench. The maskers enter, crawling, stumbling, and thumping staves and rattles on the floor. They scramble to their feet to hop and gyrate with moans, roars, and whinnies. They scoop hot ashes from the men's stove and strew them over the floor. They rub ashes on the hair and arms of the patients, as they caper around them.

III. Dance of Husk Faces, to the noise of a wooden paddle struck on the bench and syncopated monotone gasps by the singer. Some walk in a stiff-legged straddle. Others do the Fish step. Still others, who represent women and squeak about their crying babies at home, do the *enskanye* step, with exaggerated primness. As the musical beat speeds up, the maskers, representing old men, lean on staves and gallop around them.

Sometimes the Husk Faces herald the Wooden Faces, and, according to Speck, they may precede the False Faces at the Midwinter Festival (1949:88), but that has not been my experience.

IV. Round Dance or Heel-bumping Round, for anyone. This unmasked finale frequently occurs by itself as partial ritual. Society members join, includ-

ing female sponsors and managers, and eventually anyone in the Longhouse participates. They use the same step as for the Drum Dance (Figure 9), but not the gestures. Husk Faces participate in their respective male and female roles, though they are all really men. There are variants between Longhouses. For instance, in the complete ritual the maskers dash back out into the snow or the night. After the partial Round they simply sit down. The New York Seneca have a section called 'Thumbs-up,' a pairing of False Faces and leading matrons, in which the participants kick and spar while holding their thumbs up. At the Cayuga Longhouse the dancers conclude the Heel-bumping Round with pairing and hop-kicking similar to the climax of the Bear and Buffalo rituals. In the course of the complete ceremony the conductor addresses the maskers—at the Seneca Longhouse after their entrance, at the Onondaga before the Round. In the complete ritual the maskers receive corn mush and tobacco. In the partial dance they do not receive gifts. The inter-Longhouse differences in costuming are discussed in Part V.

War Dance or Wasase

The War Dance by the men serves as a rain ceremony in the summer. At Midwinter it is a cure for a variety of ailments, including vague indisposition. The War Dance combines with Striking-a-Stick and Eagle dances, to form a group. They are associated with the Thunders and Thunderbird, with war and peace, and with a boasting feature. Any song may be interrupted by a male society member, when he knocks a cane on the floor, arises to eulogize himself or others, and distributes small gifts of food or coins to the performers.

Wasase does not have the structural development of the previous rituals, but it has two kinds of steps and formations (Figures 29, 30).

I. The basic step is a heavy jump-hop similar to that of the Wooden Faces but is not comical or grotesque. The step is sometimes varied by threatening gestures, or by 'toeing.' In toeing, the man hops on one foot and touches the ground with the free foot—front, side, and back. This step is popular in the Great Plains war dances. Like False Face dancing, Part I of the War Dance has no formation. Every man moves about wherever and however the spirits move him.

II. Round Dance, usually to the last song. Though the form is not regulated, a customary routine would be—A) Step-pat, but with steps to either side; B) Same step as False Face Round and Drum Dance, or simple step-bump step-bump with alternate feet. Boys, as well as men, may participate in *Wasase*, while False Face dances are for adults only.

Striking-a-Stick or Waenoe

This dance has many and somewhat confused associations. Imported from the southern Plains, it resembles some of the double-line dances of modern 'Pan-Indianism,' particularly the 'Bean Dance.' The name suggests its connection with the ancient custom of warriors to re-enact their exploits upon their return, after they had struck a centre pole. In Iroquois ritualism, a special function is, or was, an address to the Sun in the spring.

In the song series, one pattern prevails:

A. A line of five or six men faces a line of the same number of matrons. All step-pat in place.

B. With the same steps as for the Drum Dance, partners approach each other and recede, to a duple drum beat.

A. Opposites cross over, passing on the right, with a light walking step, to a half-time beat.

B. All do the Drum Dance steps.

As for *Wasase*, the drummer and rattle player sit on a bench by a long wall (the men's wall), so as to give the floor space to the dancers. The same arrangement characterizes the third dance of the group, namely, the Eagle Dance.

Eagle Dance or Ganegwa'e

The Eagle Dance is a unique and attractive dance, exclusively for four youths. Its exotic provenience from the Southern Plains is evident in the pattern, which is the same as for the Oklahoma Pipe Dance (Fenton and Kurath, 1953). It has acquired a well-knit ritual structure, and within the structure it displays a clean-cut dance pattern. The parts of the pattern include:

I. Tobacco invocation to an introductory chant (in some Longhouses, two chants). Distribution of paraphernalia to dancers.

II. Series of dances by the youths, who sit on chairs some twelve feet from the singers, facing them.

A. With tremolo, the youths shake a small tufted gourd rattle in the right hand and a feather wand in the left.

A. With tremolo, they lunge, continuing the shaking gesture.

B. With a peculiar drum pattern, they hop toward the singers, in a deep crouch, one hop to each of the slow beats. On the pattern of three fast beats, they stamp in place, twisting their feet.

A. They lunge to a tremolo.

B. They hop to their perches in the same manner as before.

III. Finale, with deposition of the paraphernalia. The longer, last song accompanies the same general pattern as the other dance songs, but on the repeat the youths lay down their paraphernalia on the floor, one after another. After the hopping, the dance ends with the youths on their perches. This is the Cayuga version. The Onondaga and Seneca vary this pattern (Fenton and Kurath, 1953: 246–248).

Other Rites

Other types of dances may temporarily function as cures and appear at the Midwinter ceremonies in response to dreams; the Feather, Trotting, Corn, and Fish dances, and perhaps others, are performed in the same manner as on regular occasions.

One society, the Otter Society, does not dance. The male and female members spray water at a seated patient, with considerable impromptu clowning. They open and eat cans of salmon, because that is a favourite food of the otter.

The young men play ritual games, Snowsnake in the winter, Lacrosse and Football in the summer or whenever the ground is dry, and Tugging Stick at any time (Speck, 1949:124–126). They include neither music nor dance.

White Dog Sacrifice

The Longhouses on the Six Nations Reserve have abandoned the rite for the sacrifice of a white dog. Instead, the men and women clean the buildings after the 'ashes strewing,' and the men boil the beef for the ensuing ceremonies. However, some older people remember the rite, and the Onondaga of Nedrow, New York, observe the ceremony with decorated baskets as proxies, one for each moiety. The procedure includes four sets of songs: a dream chant, a processional chant, a special chant for the sacrificial object that takes the sins to the Creator during its burning, and, finally, Individual Chants by men. The chants resemble the Ashes Stirring songs (Kurath, 1952 MS.).

Nowadays these chants are sung during the tobacco invocation, before the Midwinter observance of Drum Dance. In alternating years the singer for each side repeats the Burning Dog chant and prays between repeats.

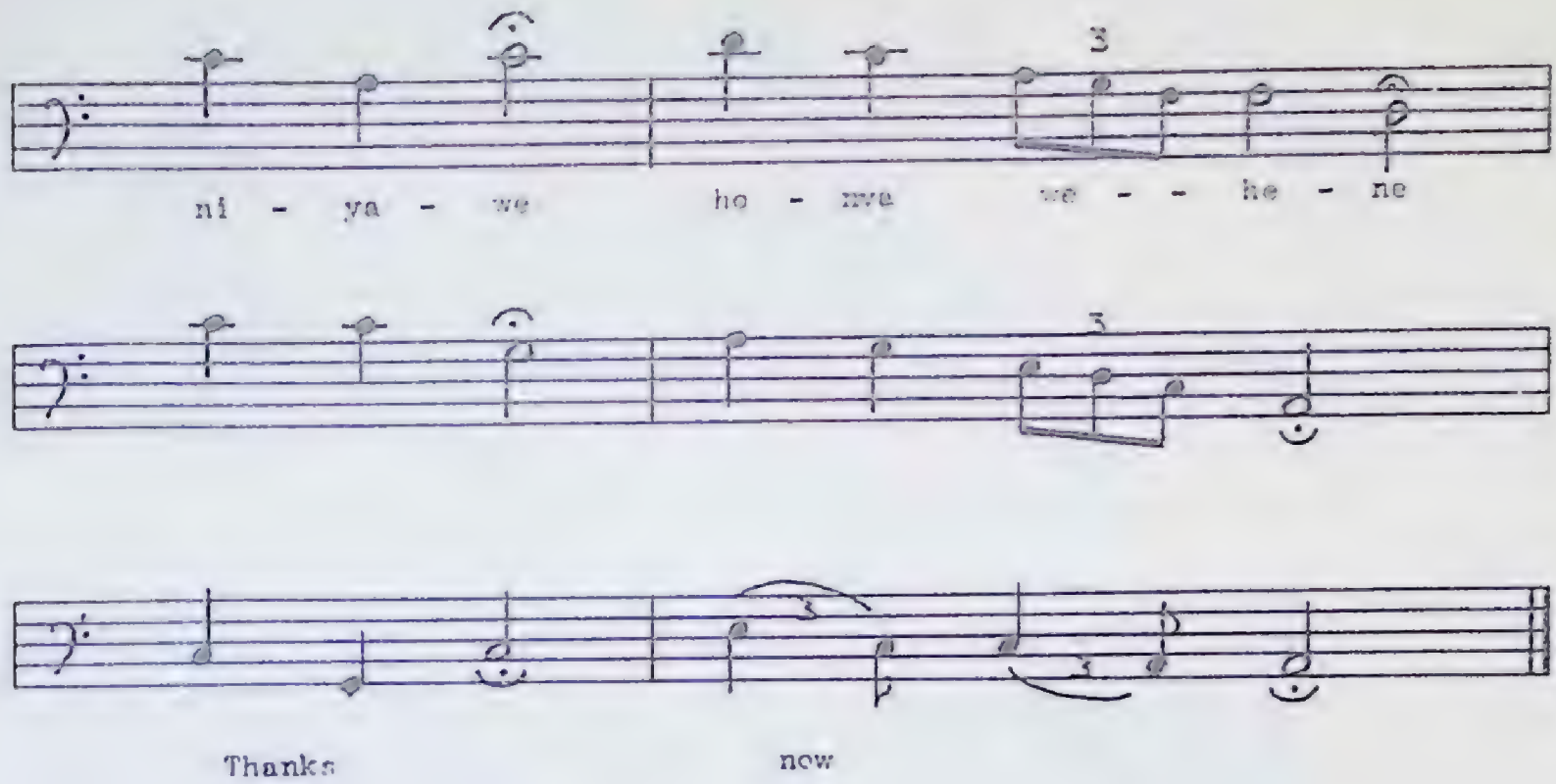
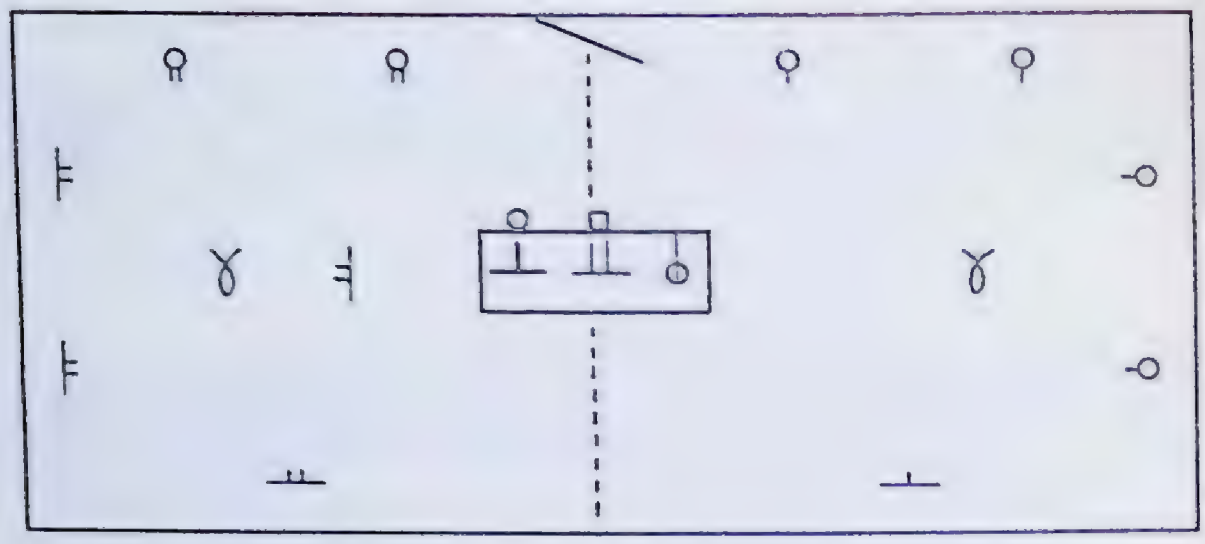
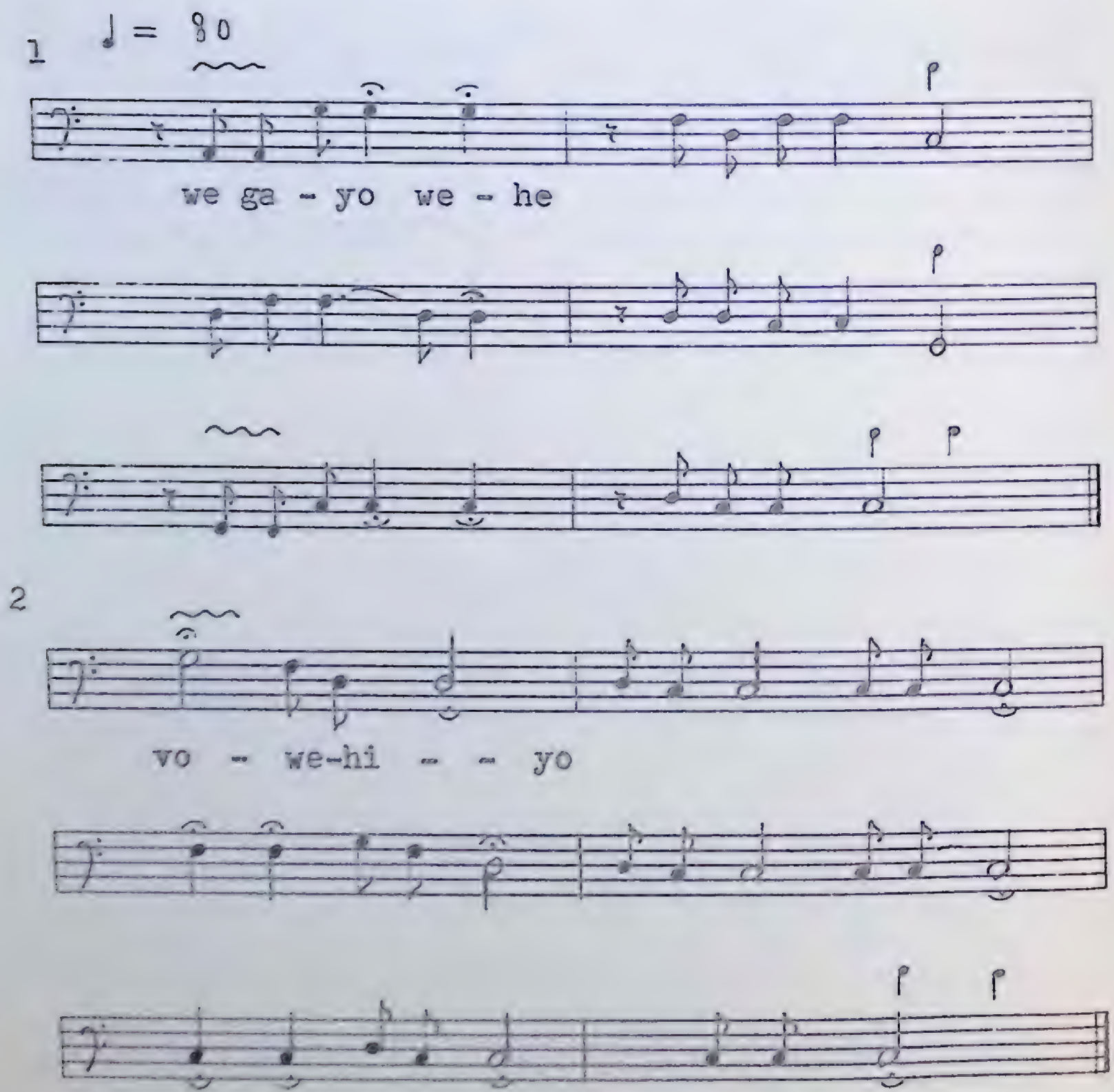


FIGURE 11—*Ashes stirring or dream song*

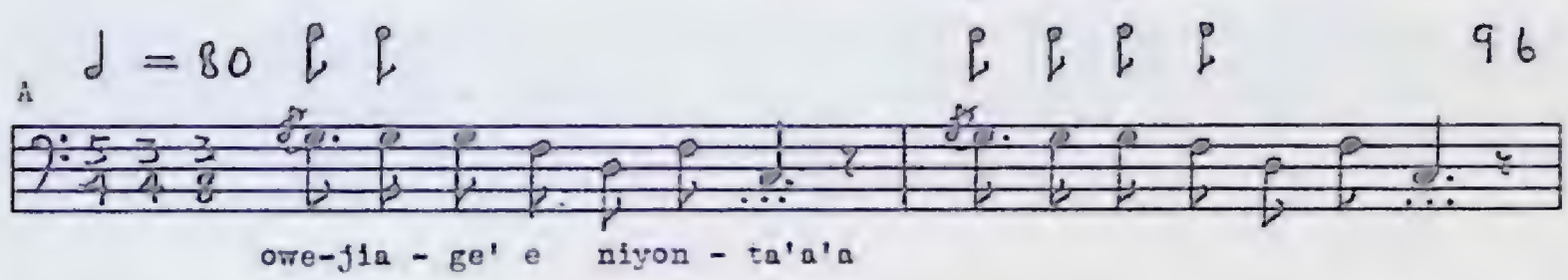


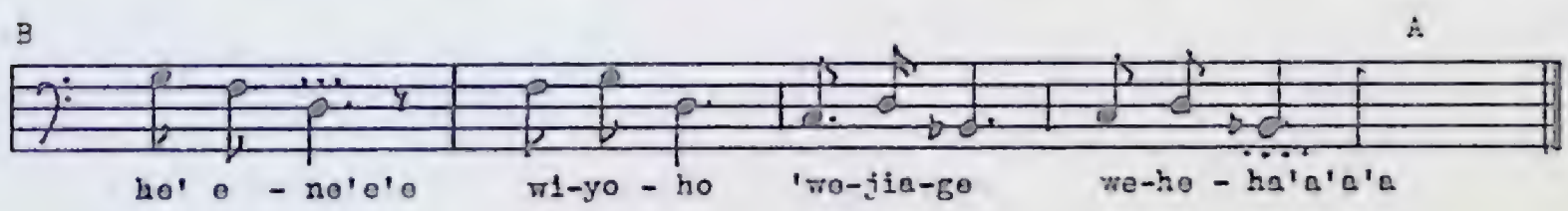


3. See Figure 79.

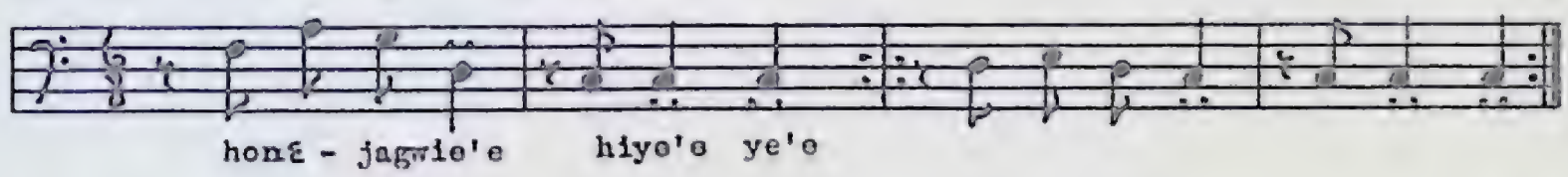
FIGURE 12—BEAR DANCE, Part I

4.





5.



4. On earth ripened fruits are beautiful—owejiage niyonta.

5. Now strip the berry bushes (the bear's favorite food)—hone jagwie hiye

FIGURE 13—BEAR DANCE, Part II

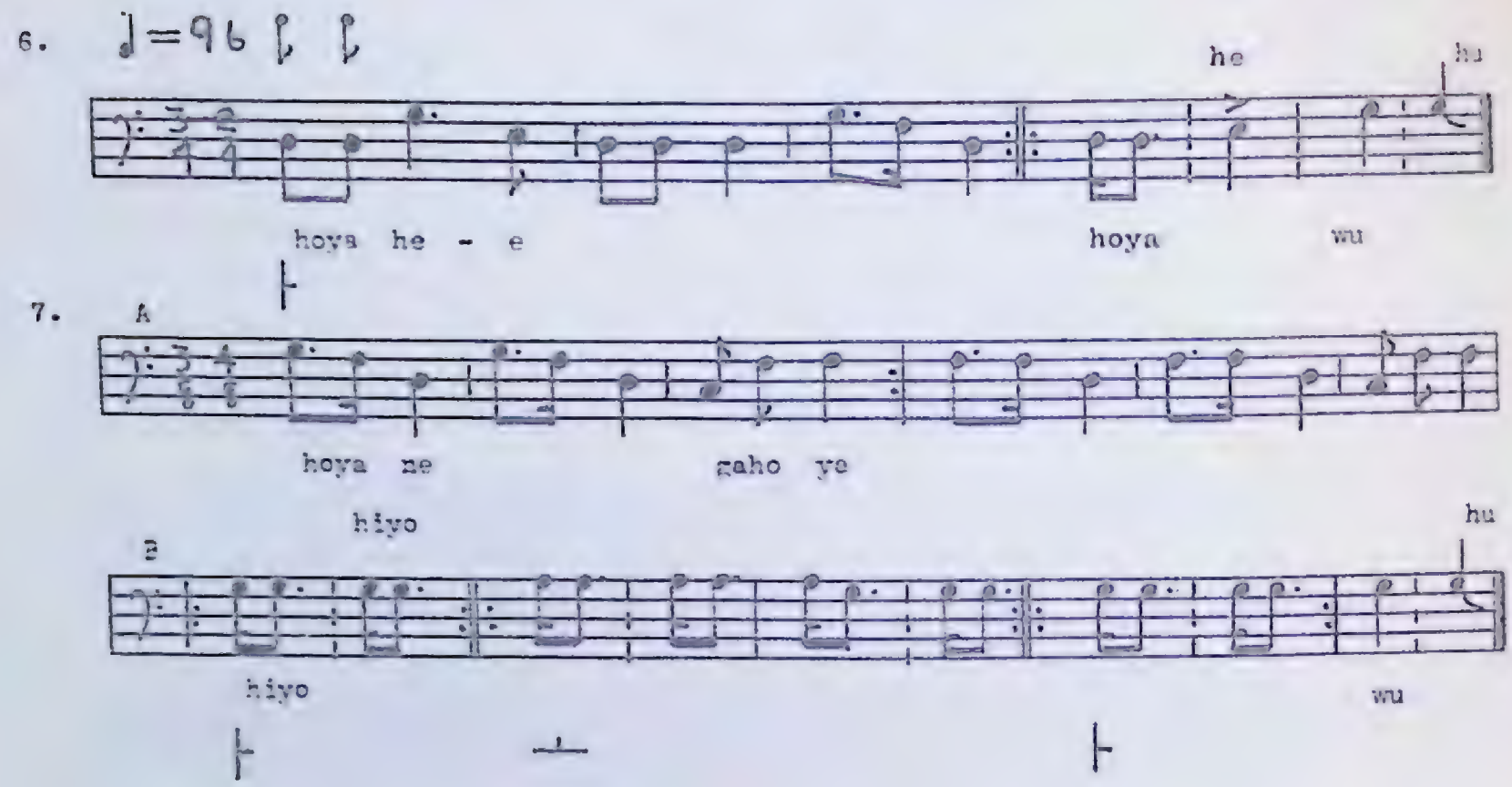


FIGURE 14—BEAR DANCE, Part III

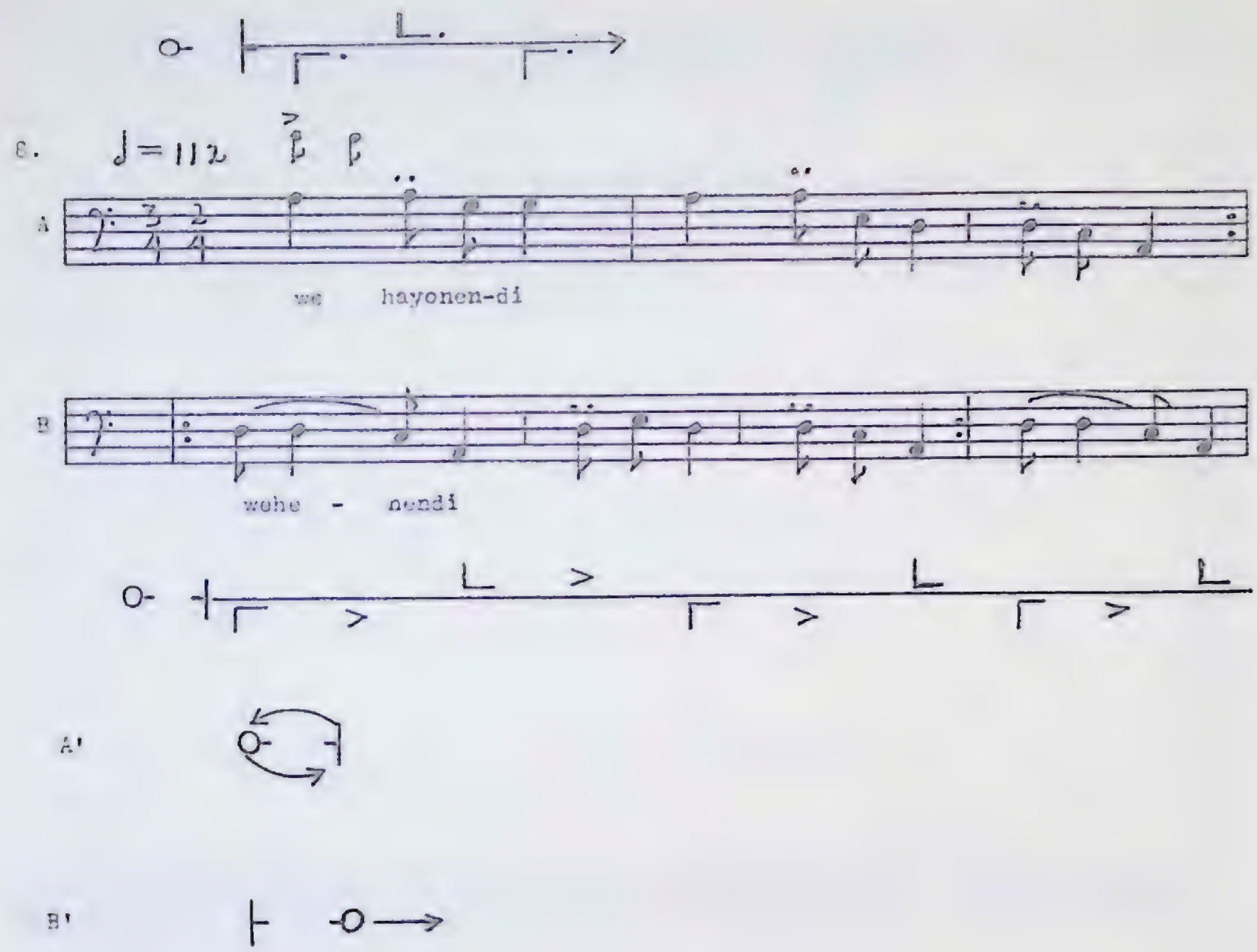
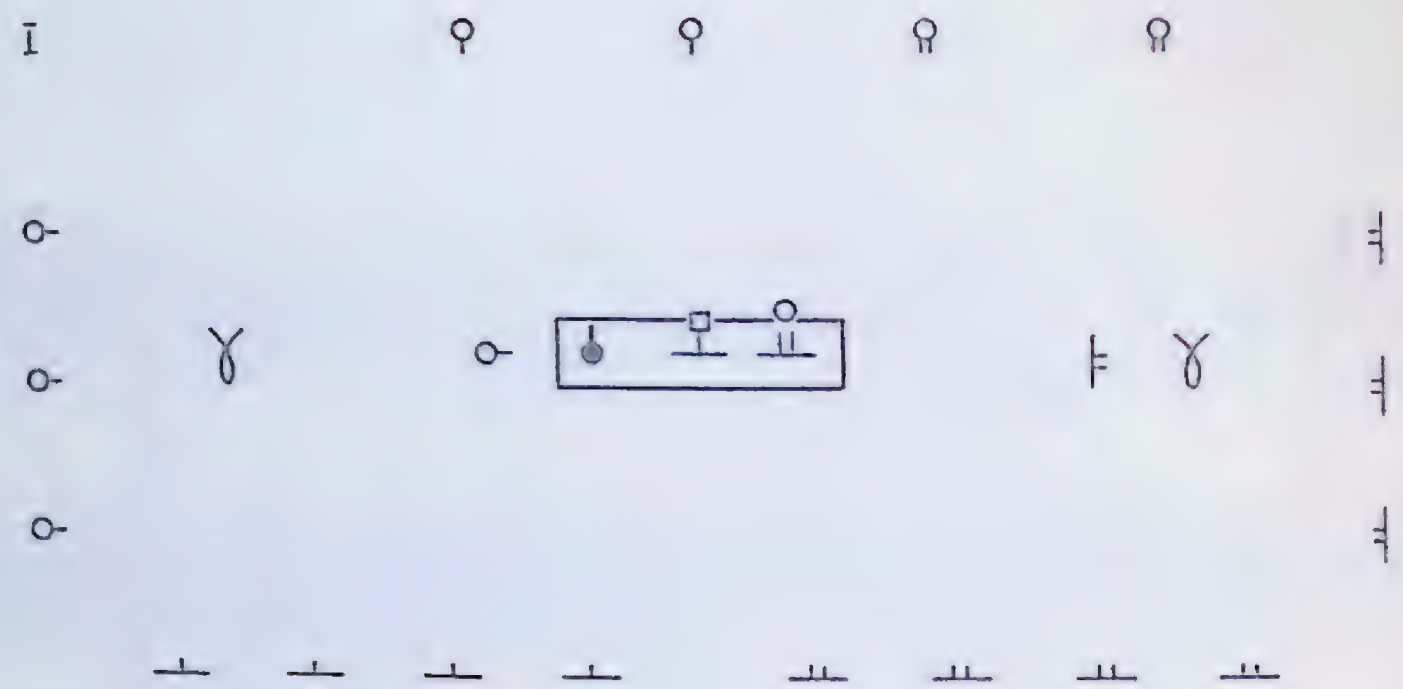


FIGURE 15—BEAR DANCE, Part IV



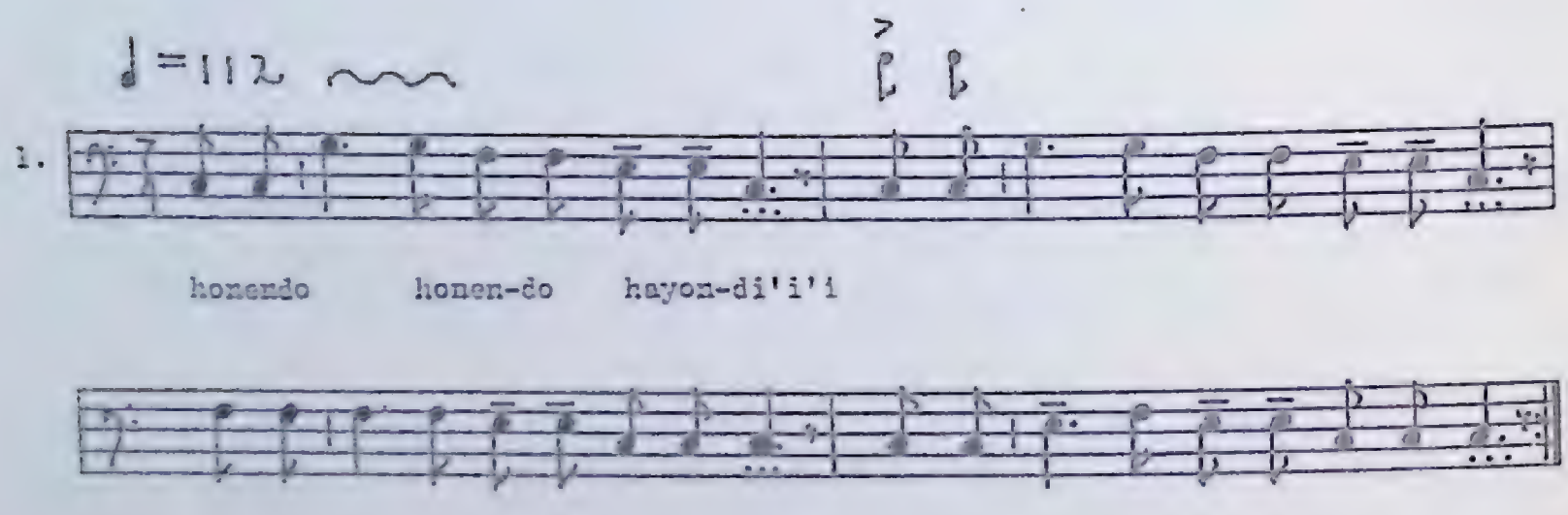


FIGURE 16—BUFFALO DANCE, Part I. *Setting in Upper Cayuga Longhouse*

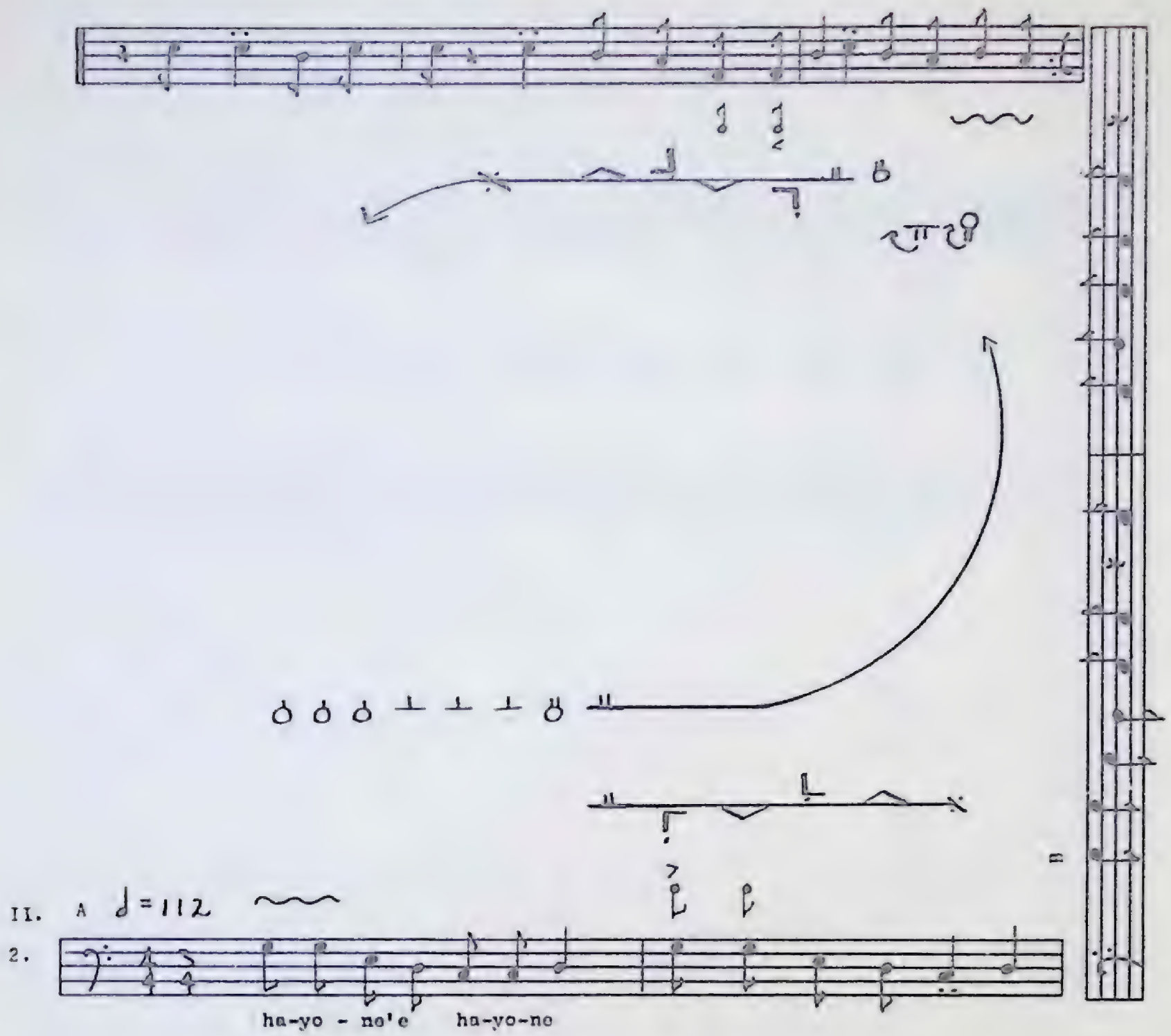


FIGURE 17—BUFFALO DANCE, Part II

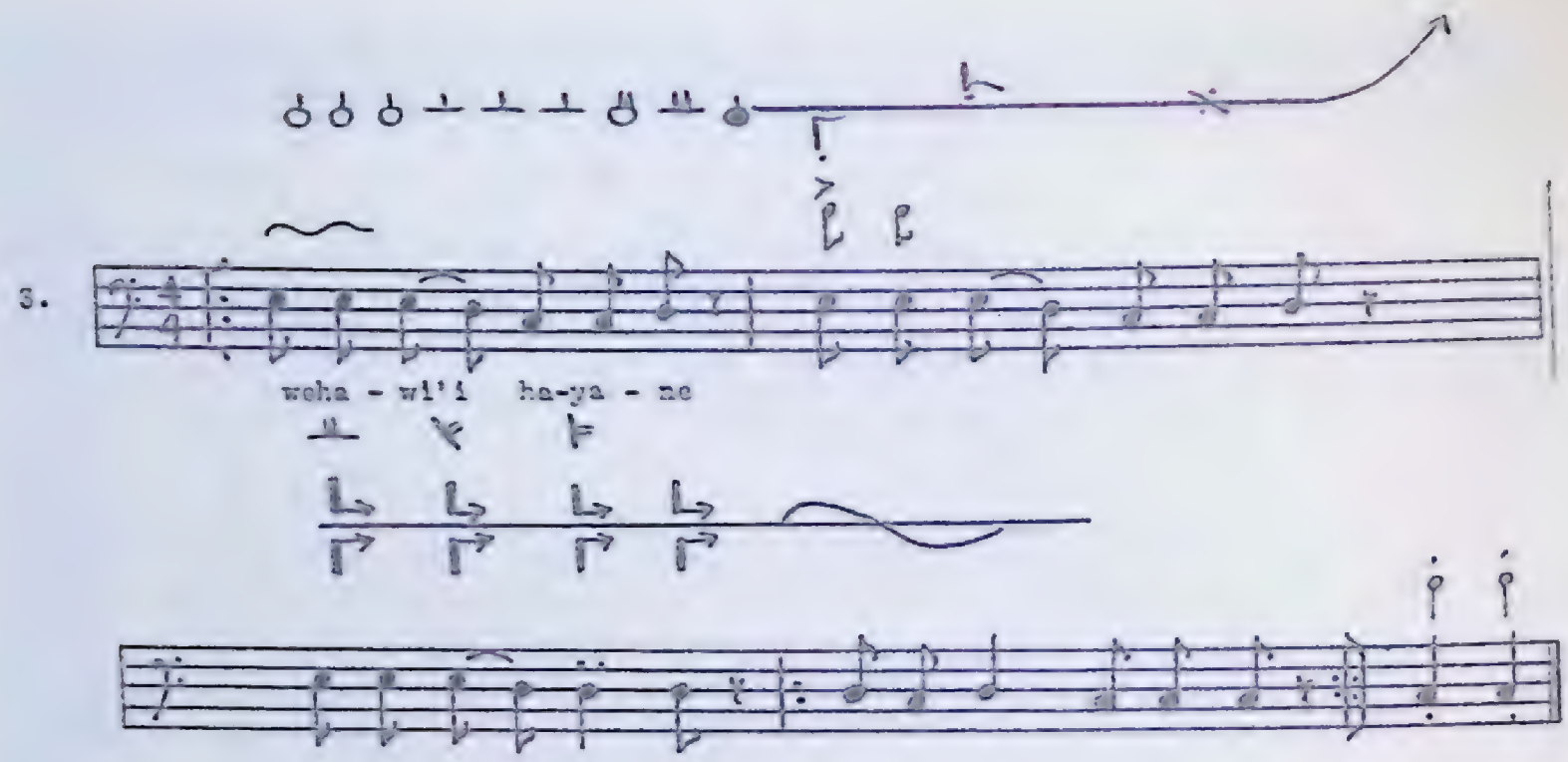


FIGURE 18—BUFFALO DANCE, Part III

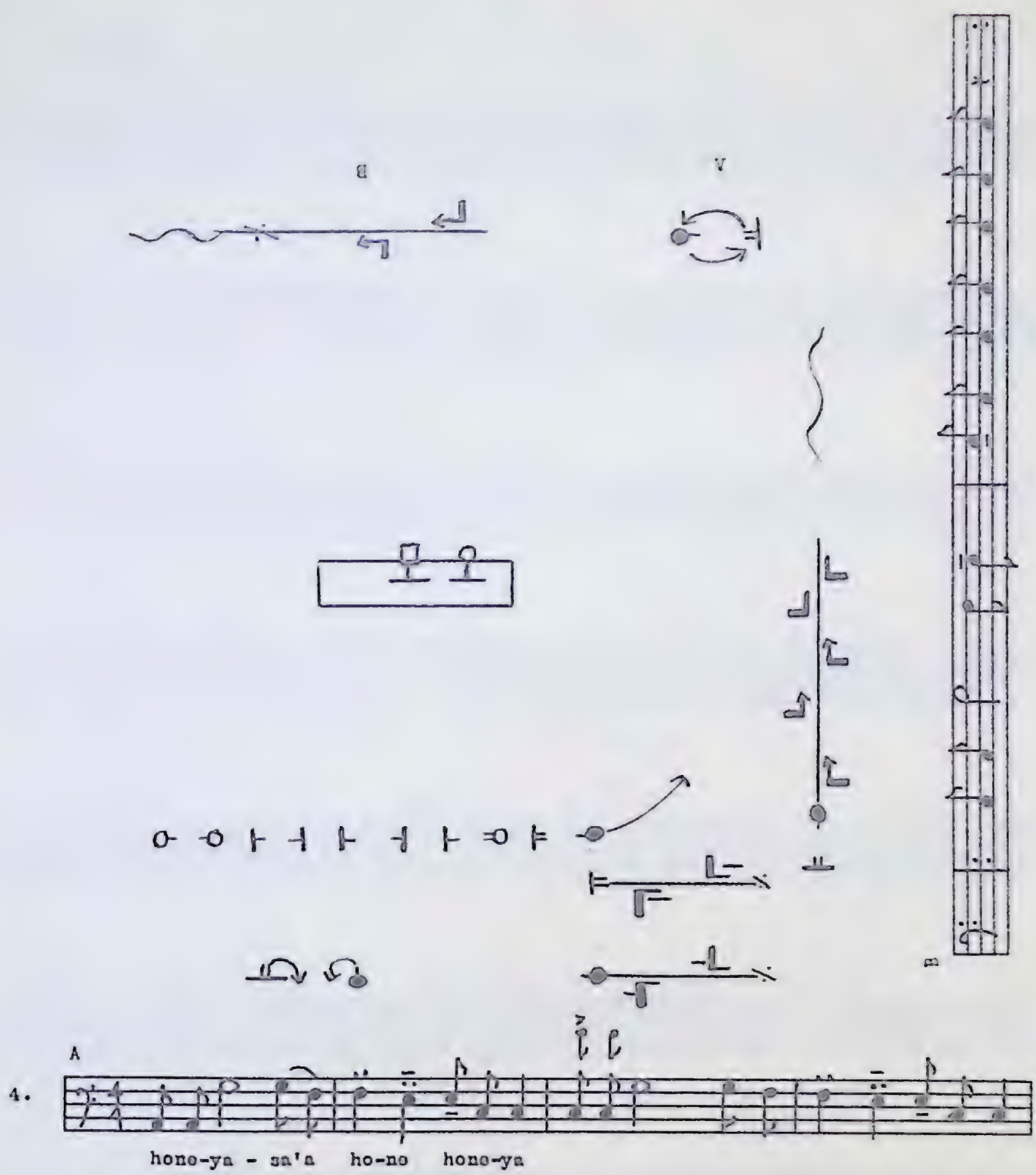


FIGURE 19—BUFFALO DANCE, Part IV

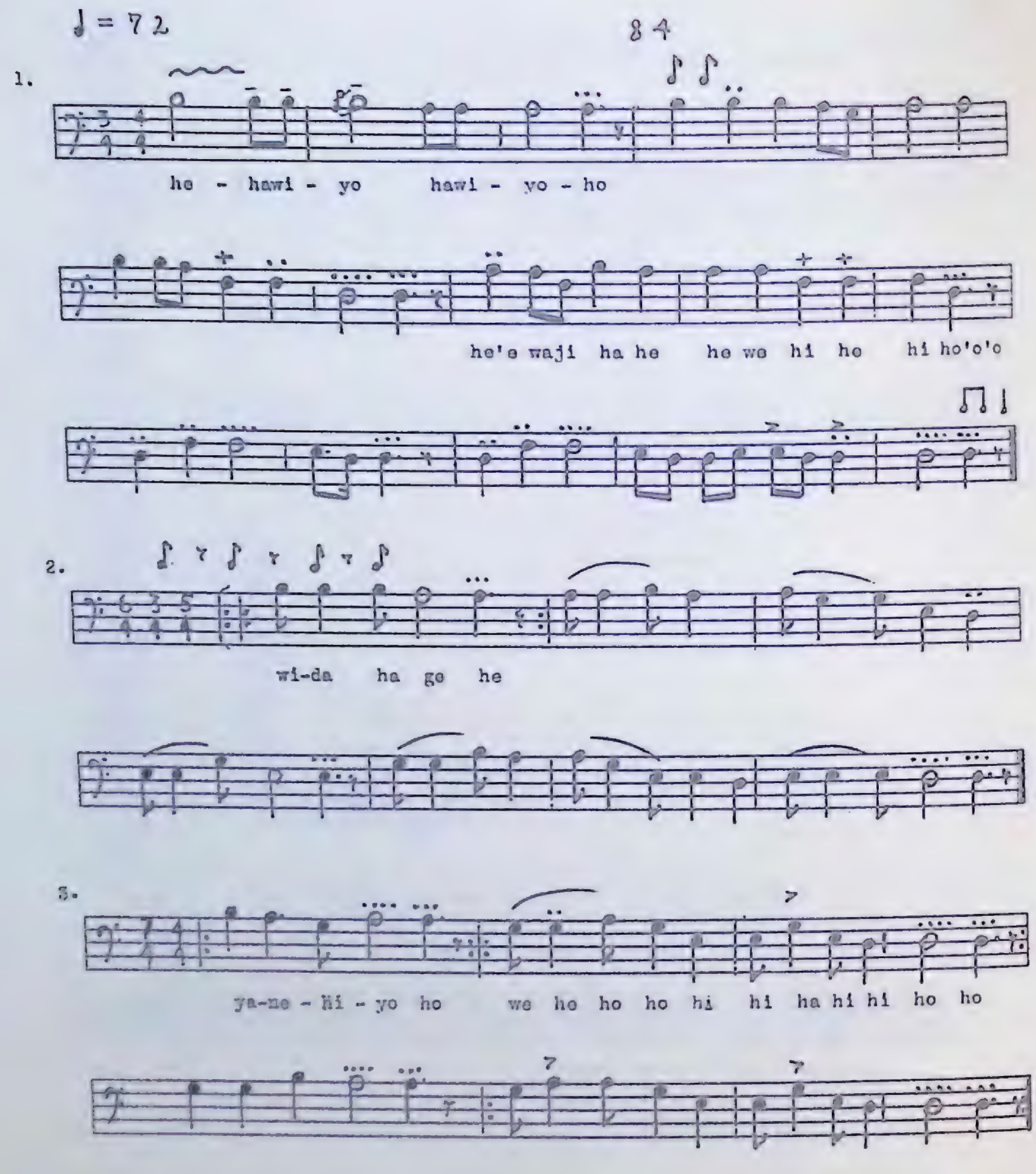


FIGURE 20—DANCE FOR THE DEAD, Part I: CHANTS BY MEN

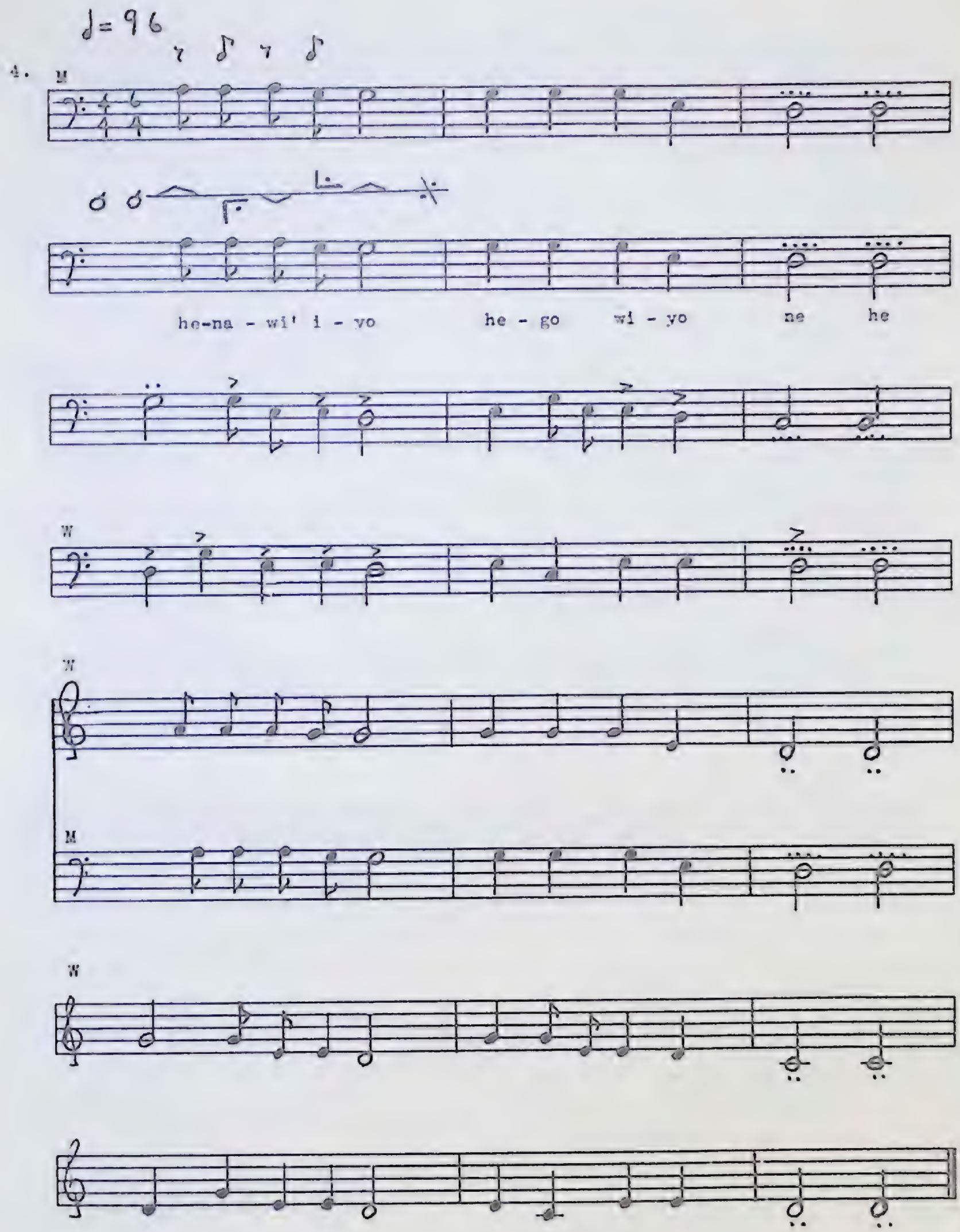


FIGURE 21—DANCE FOR THE DEAD, Part II:

DANCE BY WOMEN, SONGS BY MEN (M) AND WOMEN (W)

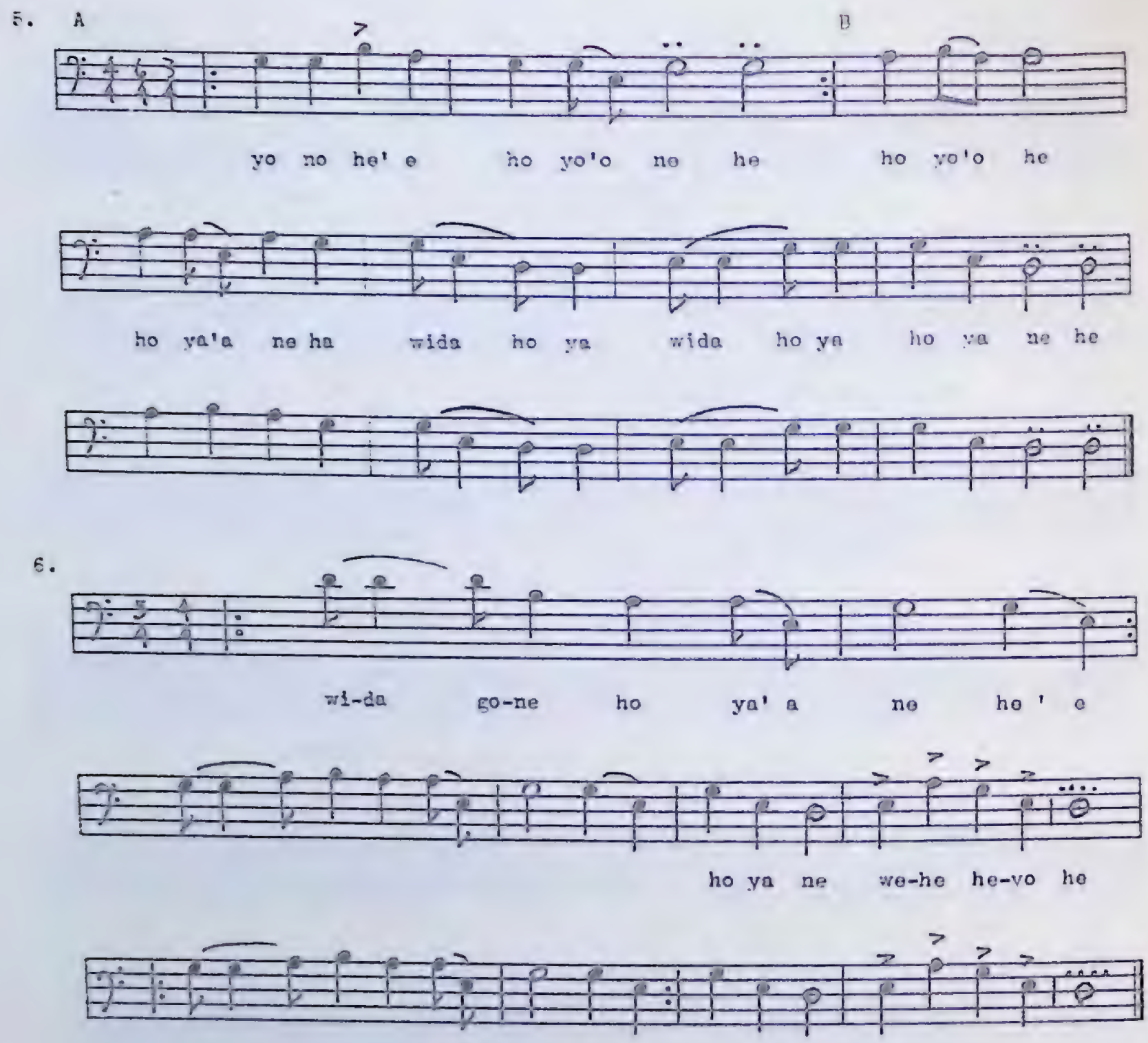


FIGURE 22—DANCE FOR THE DEAD, Part II (cont.)

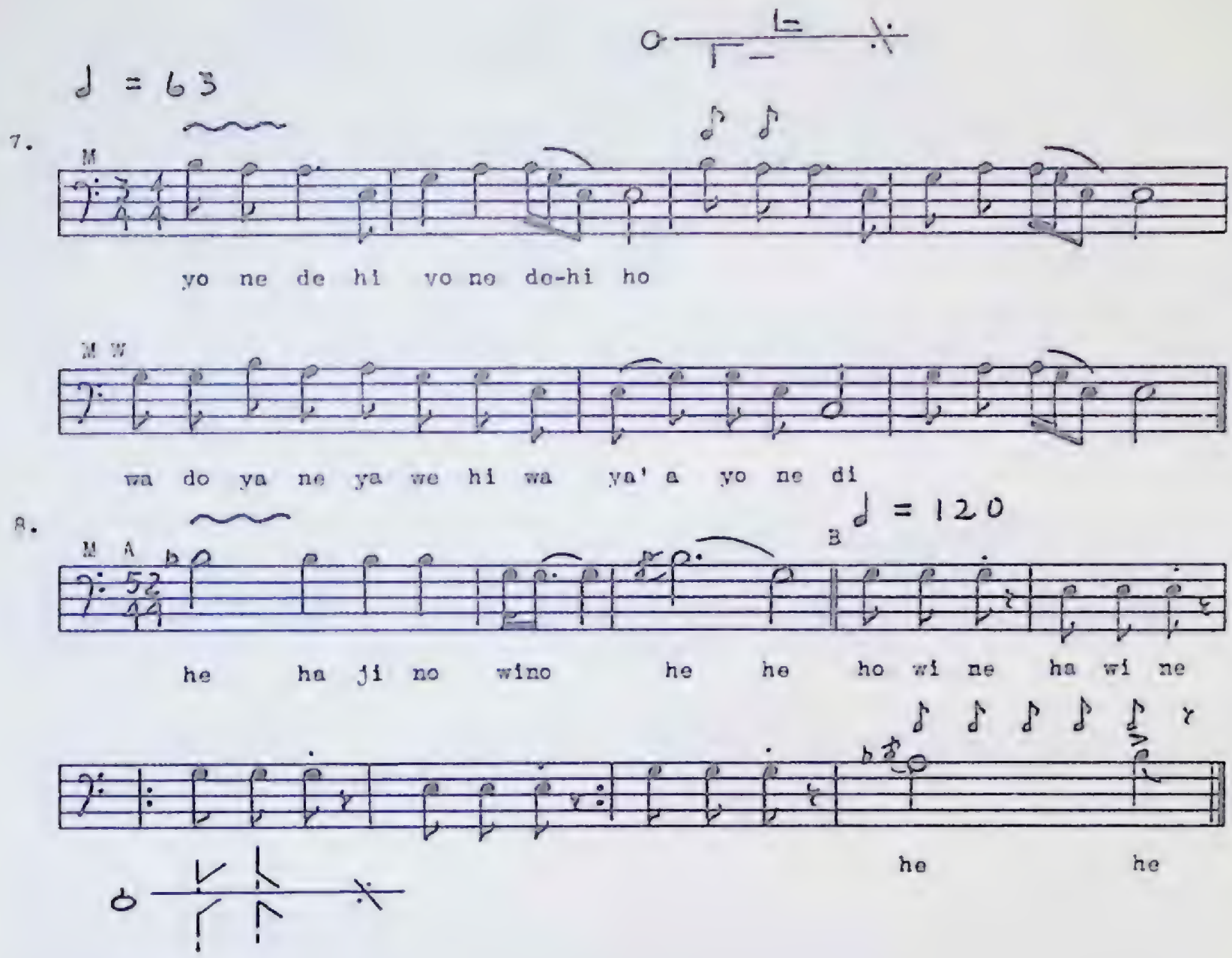
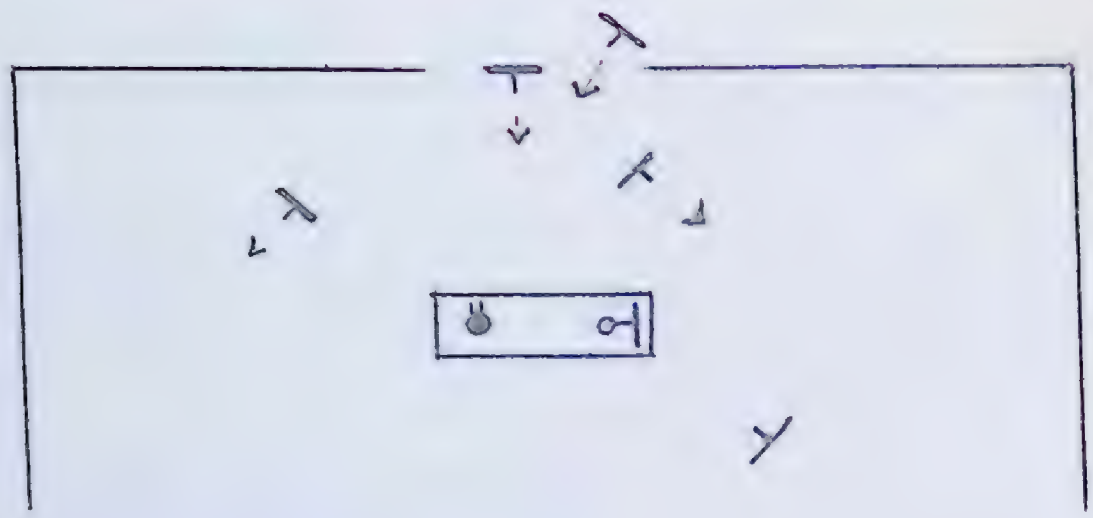
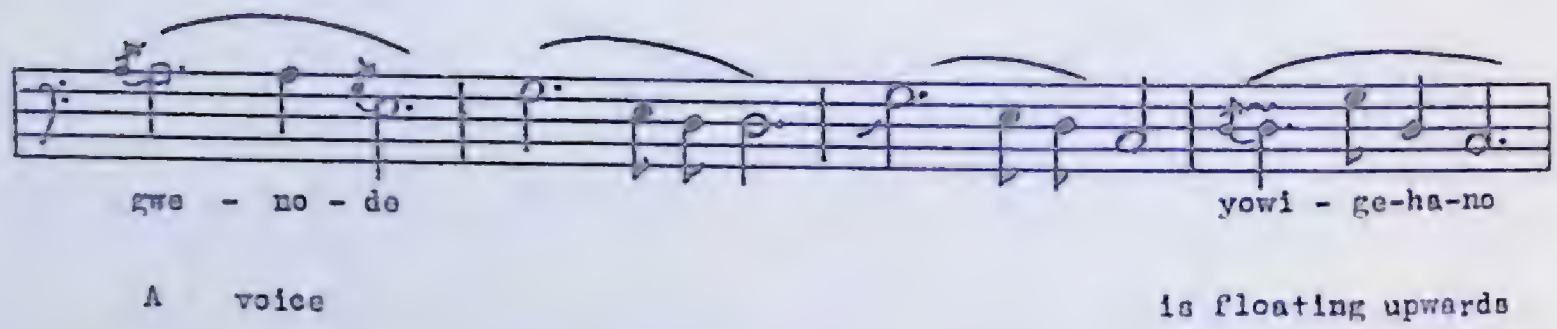


FIGURE 23—DANCE FOR THE DEAD, Part III and IV: FINAL DANCES



1.



2.

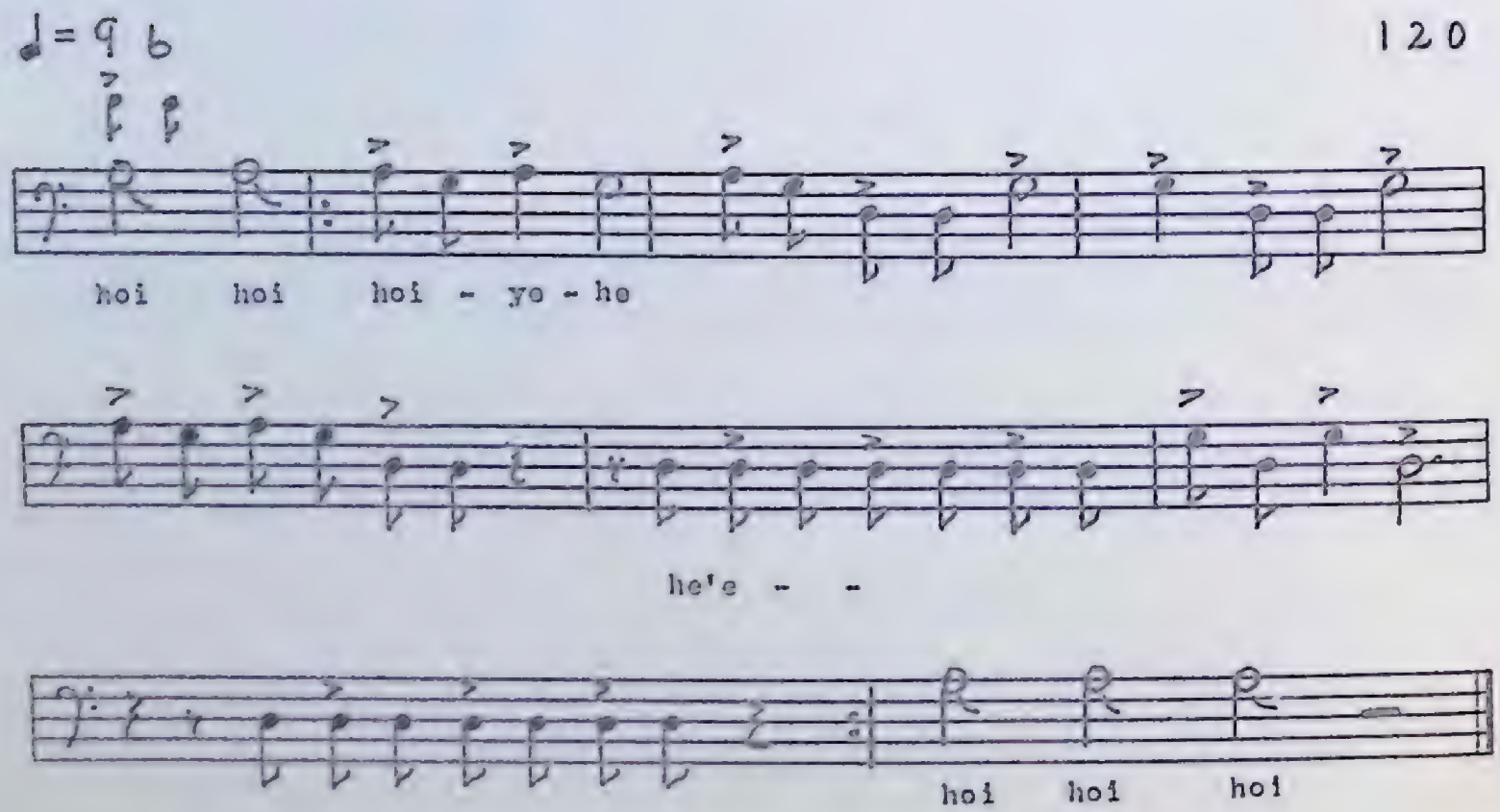


FIGURE 24—FALSE FACE RITUAL, Part I: ENTRANCE

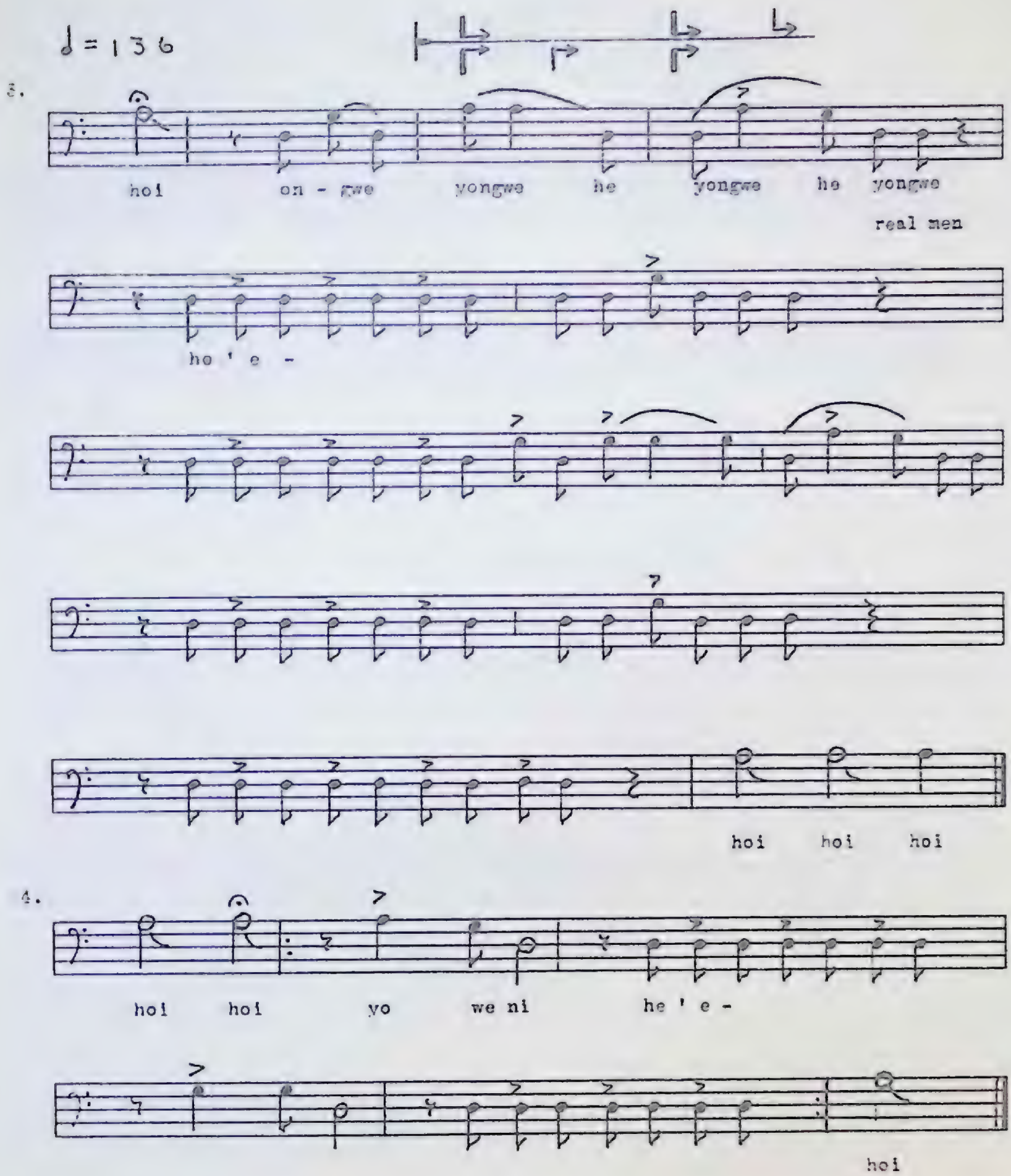


FIGURE 25—FALSE FACE RITUAL, Part I (cont.): DANCE

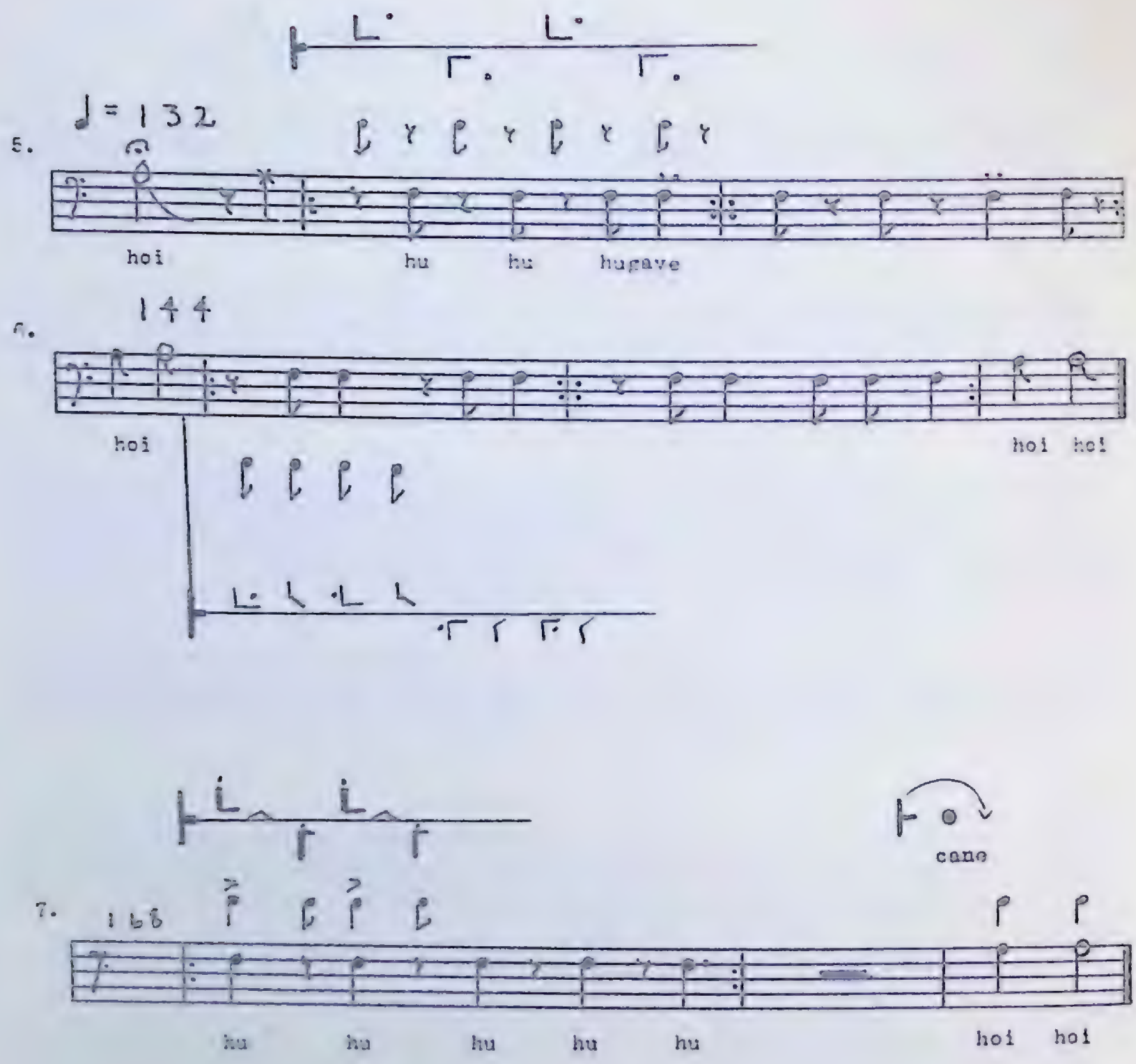


FIGURE 26—FALSE FACE RITUAL, Part II: HUSK FACES

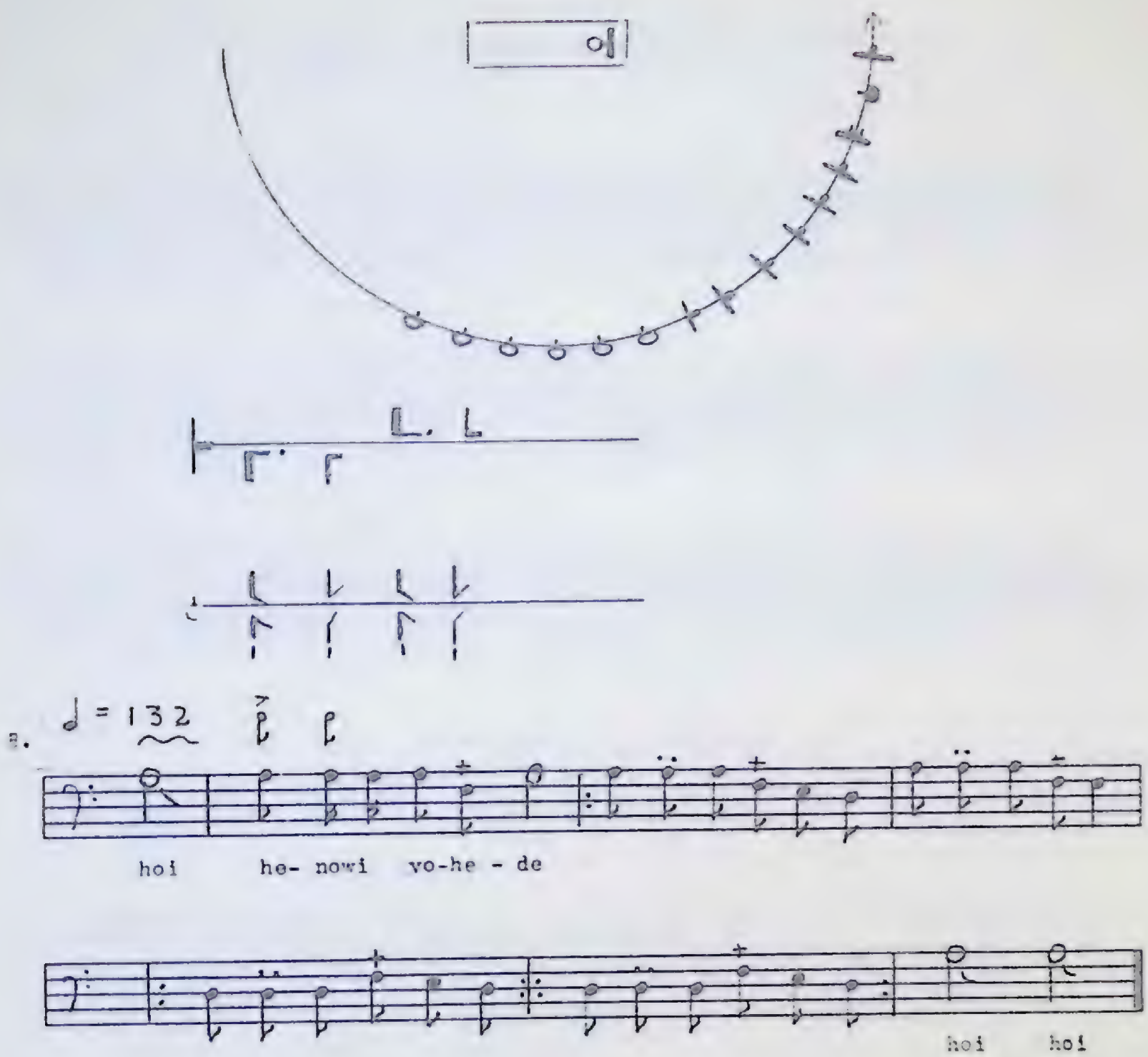


FIGURE 27—FALSE FACE RITUAL, Part III: ROUND DANCE

They stir us The great False Faces

rattle voice

♩ = 100 112

9.

hu hoi sayo - kiya donya- no sa·- godyo wego - wo so'o he he

hayo - ho goya - ne goya - ne hayo - ho goya - ne

he'e ha'a yo he'e hu hoi hu hoi hu hoi

10. ♩ = 104

hu'u hoi hoi weni - heya hevo

hoi hoi

11.

hahehe he we - heyo dewe - ho dewa - ha hu hoi

Asher are flying about

FIGURE 28—FALSE FACE ROUND (cont.)

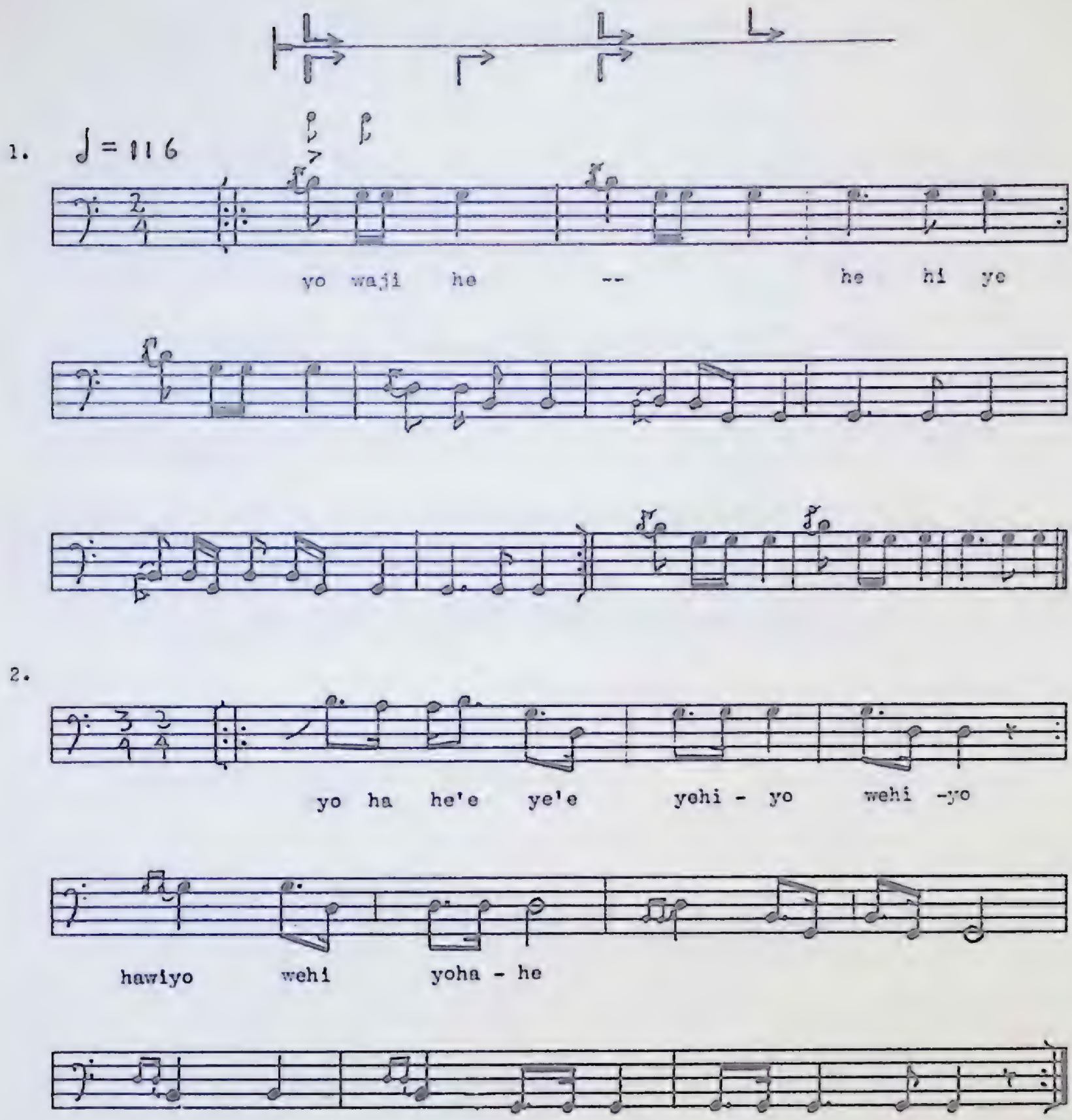


FIGURE 29—WASASE WAR DANCE, Part I

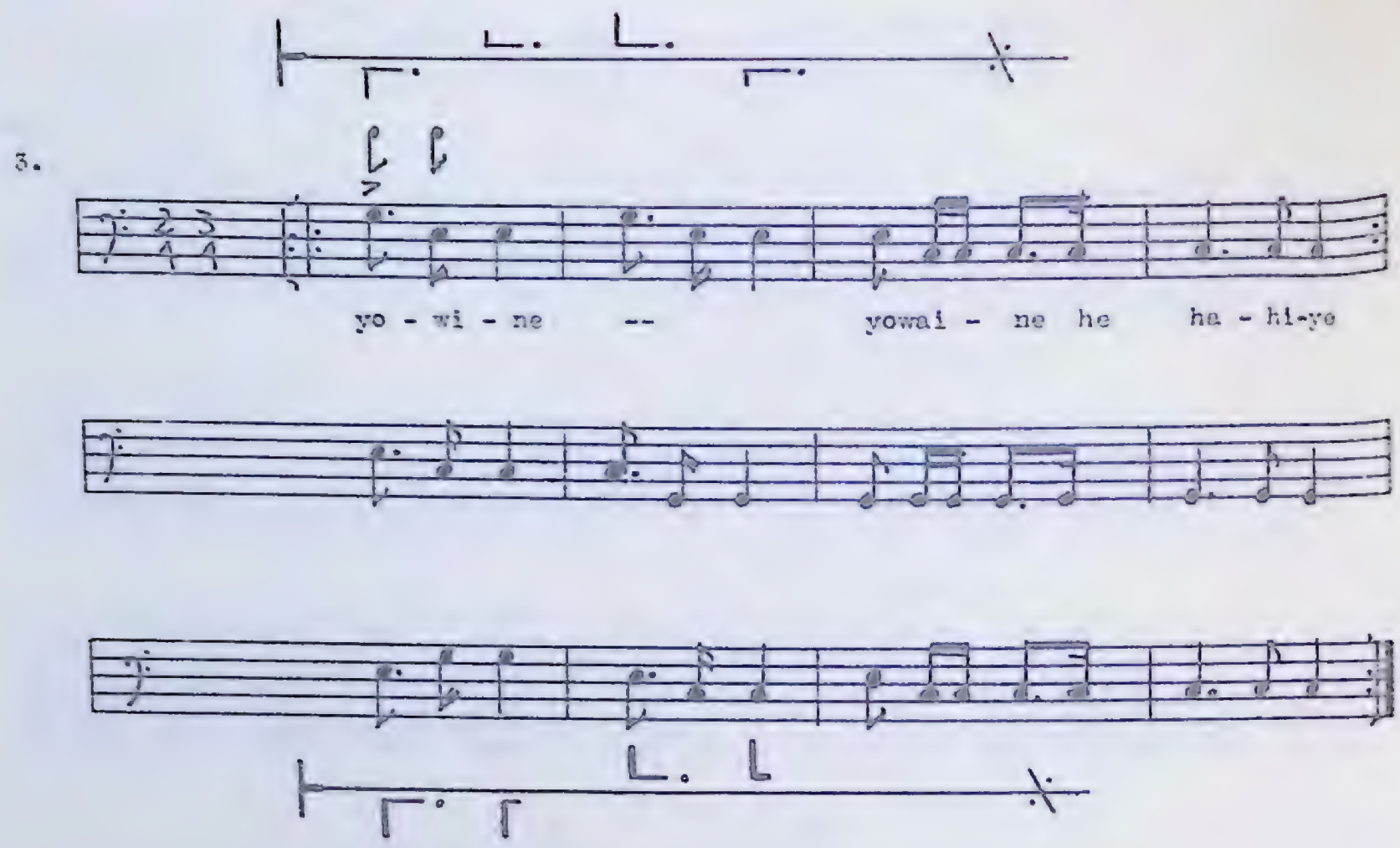


FIGURE 30—WASASE WAR DANCE, Part II: ROUND

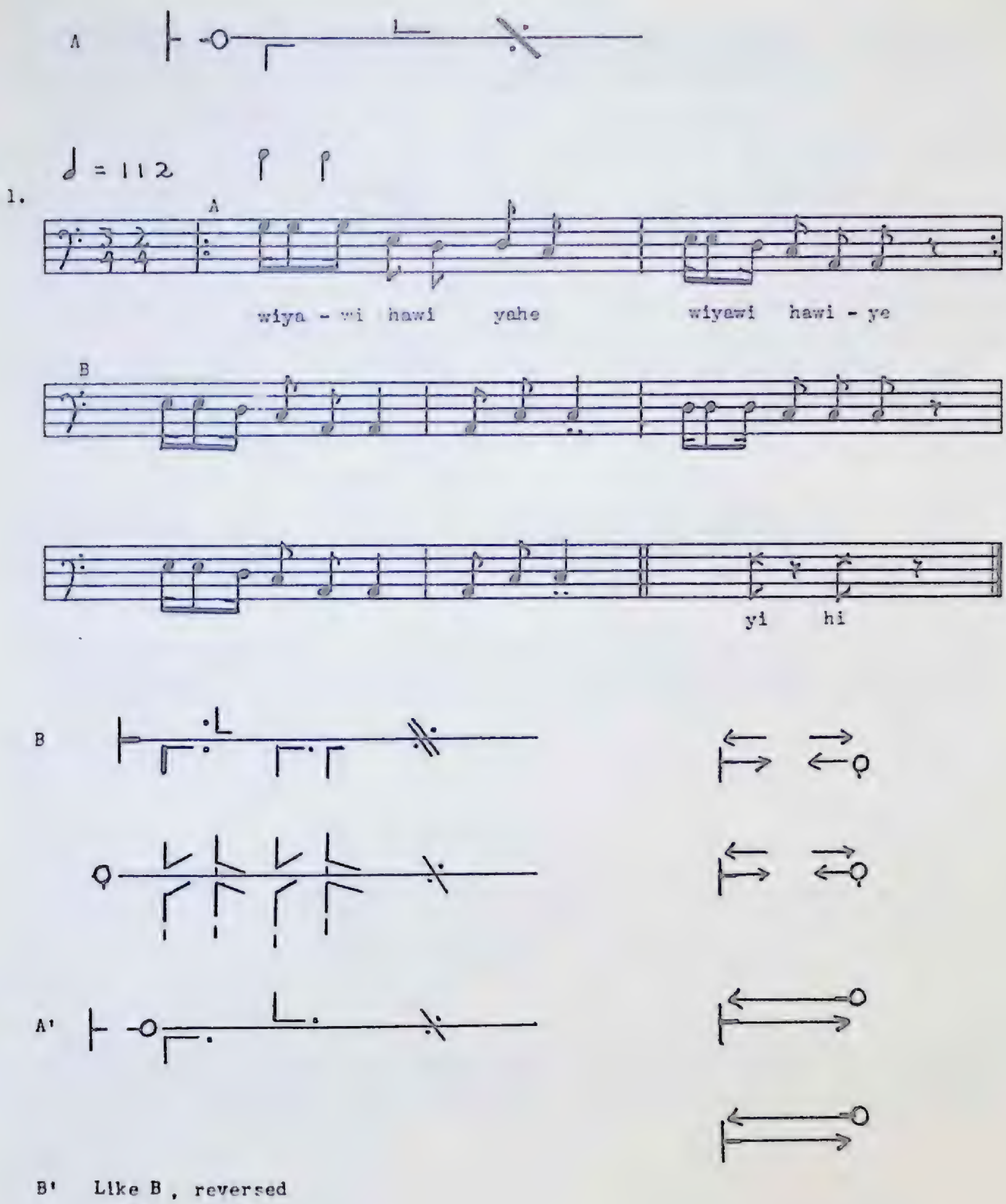


FIGURE 31—STRIKING-A-STICK DANCE

2.

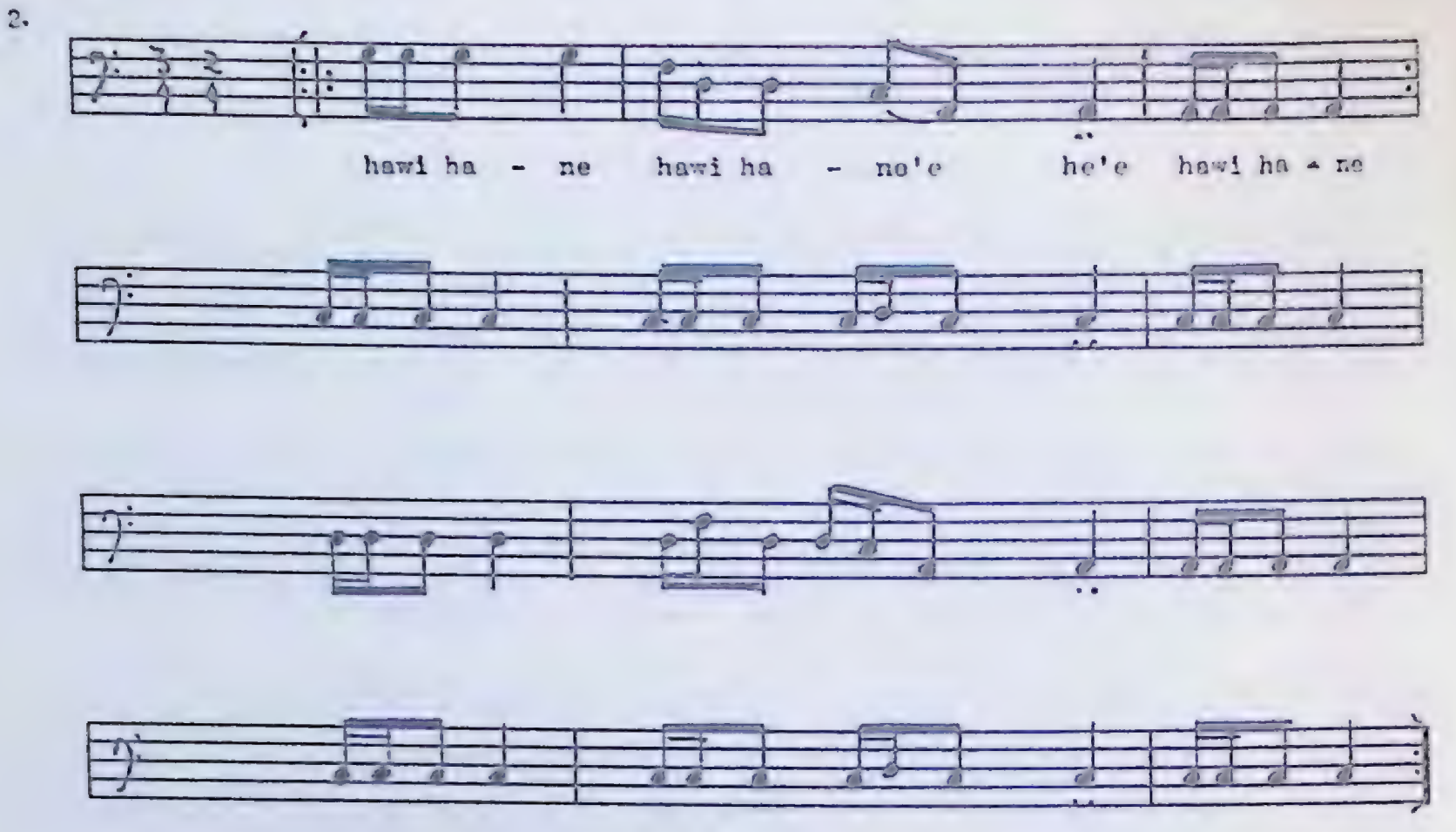
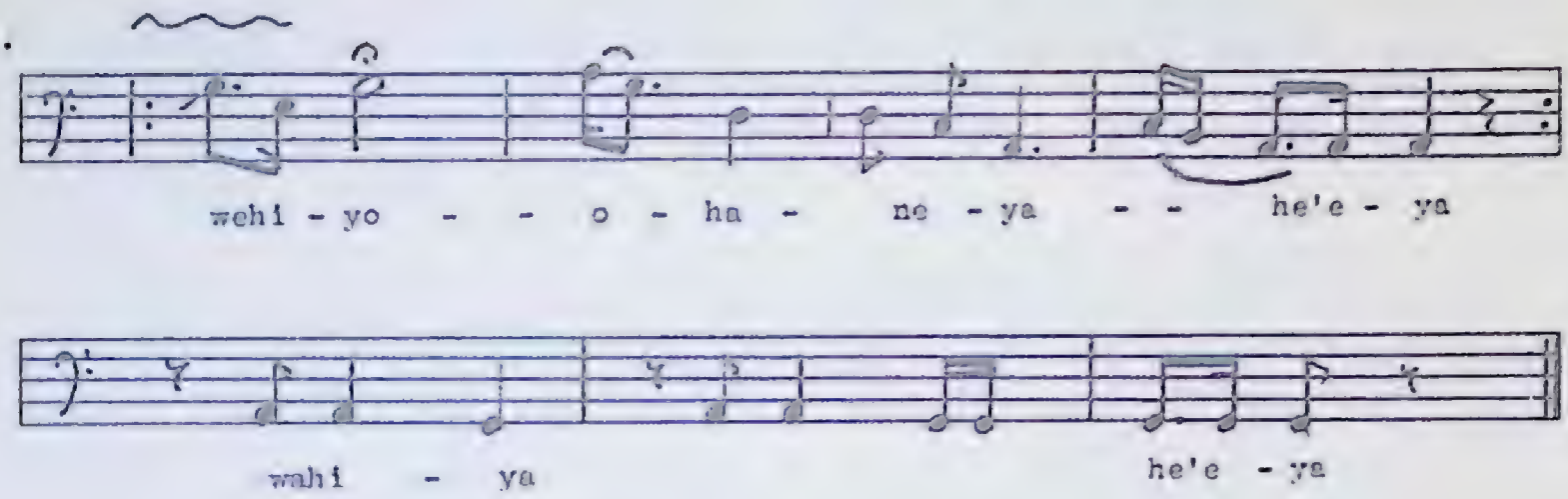


FIGURE 32—STRIKING-A-STICK (cont.)

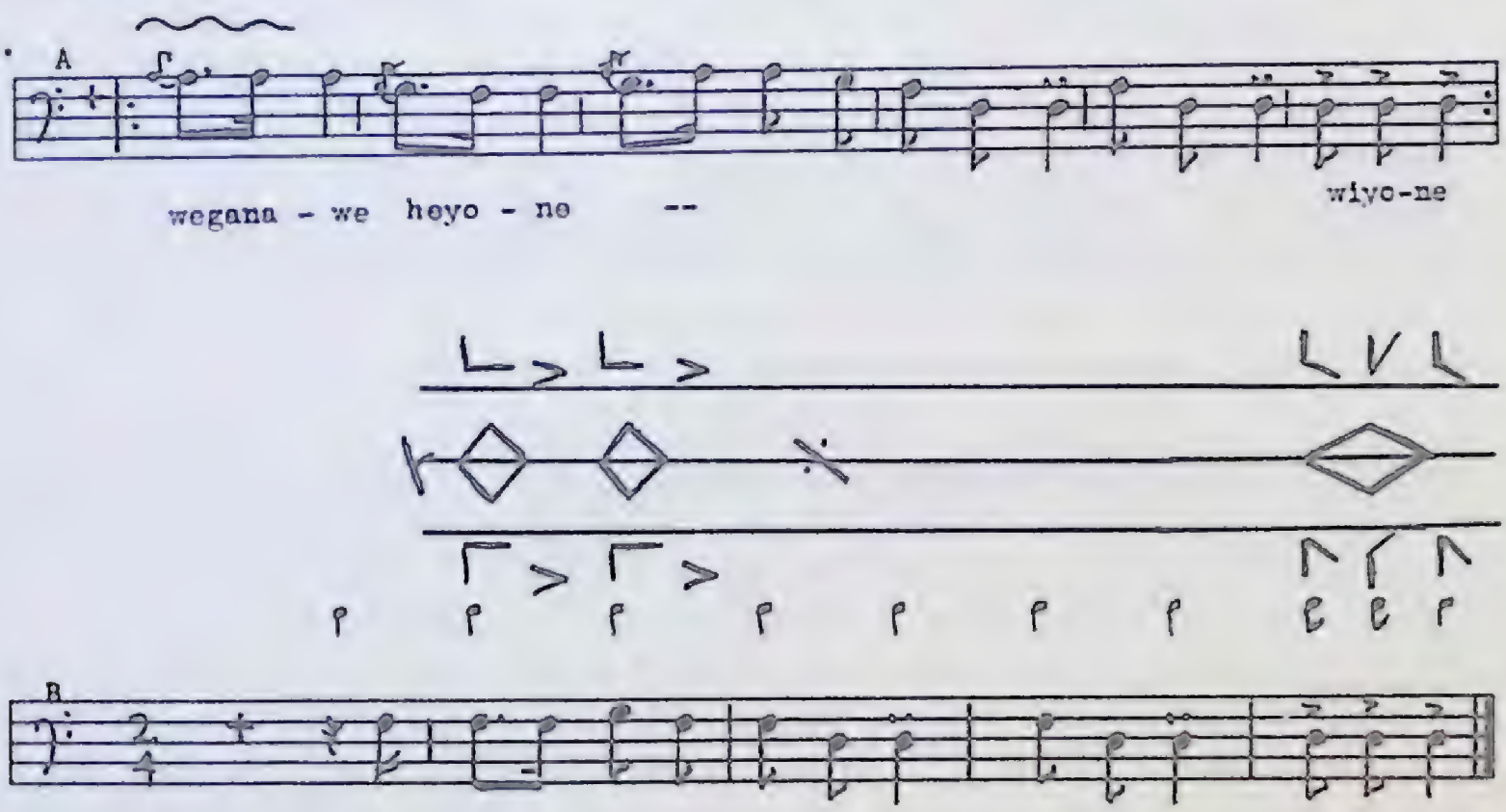
I. ♩ = 100

1.



II. ♩ = 112

2.



A' Like A, reversed

B' Like B, reversed

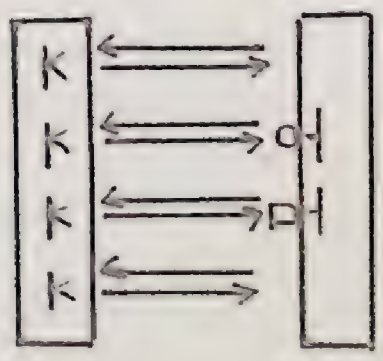


FIGURE 33—EAGLE DANCE, Parts I, II

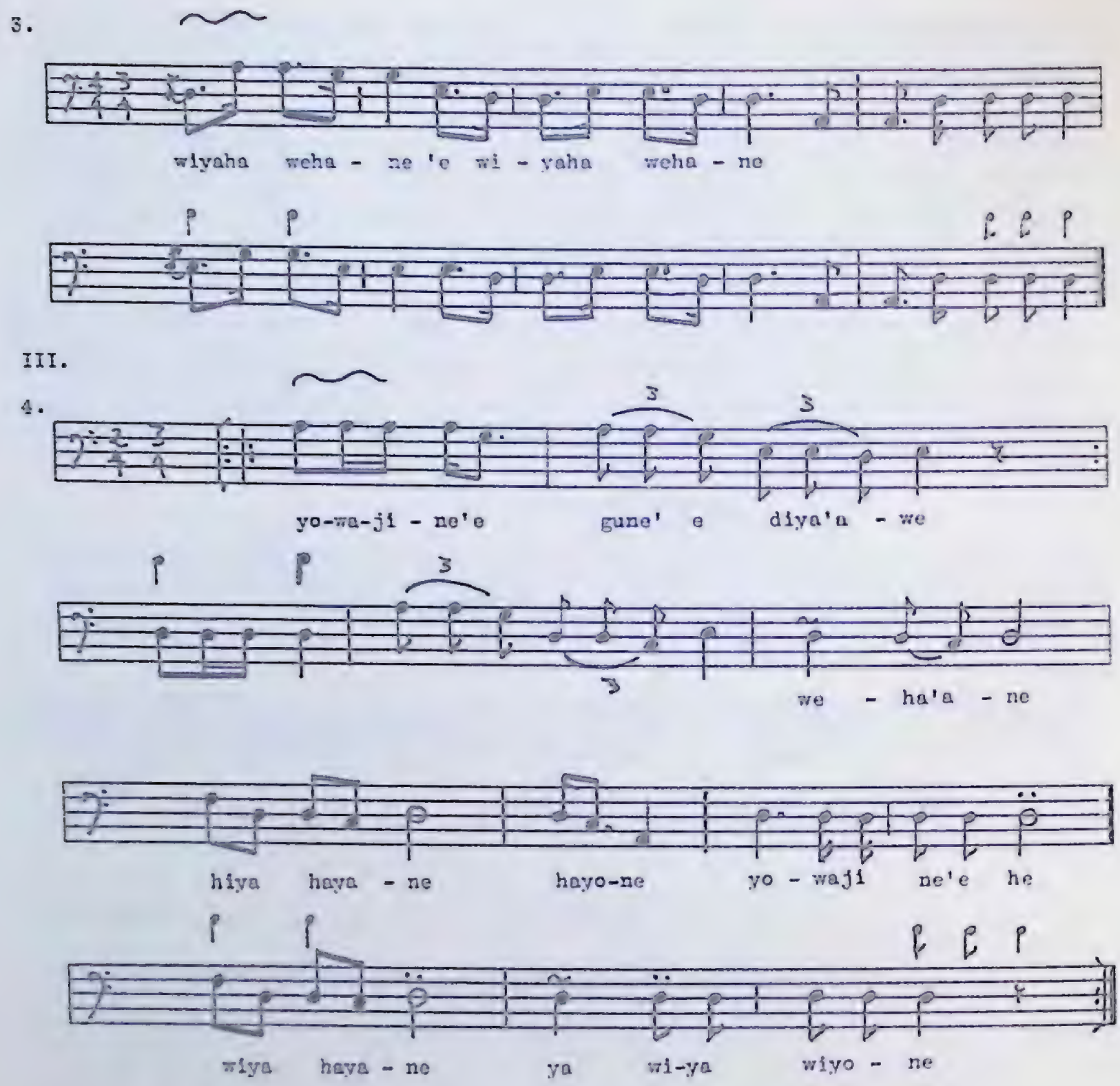


FIGURE 34—EAGLE DANCE, Parts II, III

CHAPTER SIX

Four Sacred Ceremonies

The Sacred Ceremonies to the Creator became the nucleus of worship in the Handsome Lake religion. They form the climax of the Midwinter Festival and constitute the three days' celebrations of the Big Green Corn Festival. They attract a large attendance, with many in costume. In addition, the Feather Dance initiates the dances at the smaller Food Spirit Festival and at the Six Nations meetings. The women's *enskanye* follows the Feather Dance on these extra occasions, and the step recurs in numerous other dances, sometimes in association with the Men's Drum Dance step. The Individual Chants also reappear on other occasions. The Feather Dance, *enskanye*, and Individual Chant thread through all the ceremonialism.

Great Feather Dance or Ostowegowa

The Great Feather Dance has several distinctive features. The steps recur in no other dance suite, although they resemble the steps for the Drum Dance. The instruments are two turtle-shell rattles, which two singers knock with tremendous force on the central bench. The singer for the False Face Dance also has this type of rattle. The songs are unique, with their alternation of long, sustained tones and short-clipped gasps. Each song begins and ends with a series of yells by the singers and responses by the dancers.

Yet, the Feather Dance also follows a typically Iroquoian pattern. The singers start with introductory chants in free metre (dancing does not begin yet); then they render a series of some fourteen or fifteen dance songs, on inspired occasions perhaps two dozen, from a larger repertoire. The leading singer selects the tunes in arbitrary order, except for the beginning and closing songs. The singers start pounding slowly with a steady beat, then speed up, and change to a fast, iambic beat. On song repeat they use the same two kinds of beats, at the fast pace. They insert several slower songs, which are fast enough, and they end at breakneck speed. Some of the songs are paired; that is, they have the same tune with slight textual variations.

During the first dance song the male leaders walk to the bench and begin to circle with a pat-step. For the iambic beat they use the regular Feather Dance step, sometimes with variations and with gestures (Figure 8). At the song's end they saunter around. Then more men and some boys fall in line. After several songs, women leaders start a women's section at the end of the line, and so on, until the crowd is considerable. Sometimes two hundred participate. They do not all start to dance simultaneously. At the beginning of each tune the male leaders start, then the older men, then those next in line, then the boys, then the women (usually not until the song repeat), and finally the girls. Some participants at the end of the line may have a chance to swivel only a few times. Some, in fact, do not know the steps and do not dance. They amble along to express their reverence for the occasion.

The men, but not the women, can improvise steps and postures. During the shifting metre of the penultimate song, some men leap, as shown in song 13 (Figure 37); some hold a stance; and some stamp during the shift.

The intention of the Feather Dance resembles that of the Christian *Gloria Patri*, but the style is far removed from that of hymnody in both the musical vigour and the ecstatic activity.

Tobacco Invocation, Chants from Burning Dog Rite

The leader for each side renders his special chant and then the clan *adonwe*.

Men's Individual Chants or Adonwe

In contrast with the gala communal Feather Dance, the *adonwe* are profoundly dignified thanksgiving expressions by single men or, at times, a pair of men. Any man or boy may rise for his chant; anywhere from five to twenty individuals rise in succession. After a short speech of thanksgiving, the man chants to choral accompaniment as follows: A male chorus reiterates yells, sliding downward in scale; then it holds a tone and continues with a background of sharp *heh-heh* to the singer's chanting. The women keep time with hand clapping. Two yells conclude the chant. On successful occasions the harmonies are effective, usually on the fifth of the song's scale. The chanter repeats his song four times, in contrast with the usual custom of two repeats in dance songs. He progresses across the floor with a halting step—flex-step, flex-step. Between each song rendering, he stations himself for another short speech. Onondaga men prefer to march back and forth on the long axis of the building, but Cayuga men circuit thus—

1. Speech at the man's seat (Station 1, Figure 39) and chant-progression parallel to the long wall, towards Station 2, north.
2. Speech and march to the next corner, west.
3. Speech and march to the men's corner, south.
4. Speech and march to his seat, east.

The circuit depends, however, on the position of the man's seat. If he starts at the south corner, he marches first along a short wall to the east, and so on.

Each man may know several chants, and he selects from these. There are several types—chants for the Creator, clan chants, tunes handed down from father to son, and personal compositions. The last two types, at least, could be termed 'personal possessions.' Such song ownership and the custom of transference by gift are unusual in Iroquois ritualism.

For several reasons the man may sometimes have a partner. If he is not a good singer, he invites a friend to march with him and chant for him. The friend may officiate at the naming of a child or adult or at an adoption into the clan. In the speech he mentions the Indian name selected for the recipient. If the novice is a baby, the singer carries it tenderly in his arms. If the recipient is a boy or adult, he walks next to the chanter. After that, the initiate owns the chant, and he is privileged to present it at any *adonwe* ceremony.

Drum Dance or Thanksgiving Dance or Ganehowi

The dance of thanksgiving to the Creator enjoys as much prestige as the Feather Dance, perhaps even more, despite its rare occurrence. Certainly it is

longer and more elaborate. It may last an hour or more. After rehearsal of the songs in the cookhouse, the two singers—a drummer and a horn rattle player—take their places face-to-face on the central bench, and the male dance leaders assemble just outside the door. There are four major parts.

I. The series of dance songs starts with the customary introductory chants to tremolo, concluding with a few measures to a duple beat.

II. The dancers enter and circulate, the number of men increases, women follow, and the crowd increases just as it does in the Great Feather Dance. The songs are selected from a large repertoire. They differ in style and tempo from the Feather Dance. The beginning songs descend through a large range of notes; ensuing songs shrink in range almost to a monotone; and the final songs again have a large range. The singers employ an echo-technique common in the Great Plains, that is, statement of the first short theme by the leader, repeat by the helper, and completion of the song by both. The tempo is moderate, and the gestures are more subdued than in the Feather Dance. The steps have their own character (Figure 9). The women's *enskanye* step is livelier to make up for the men's greater restraint; there is less contrast between the sexes.

III. A series of monotone, antiphonal chants alternates with a series of short prayers. The speakers for the two moieties take turns in addressing spirit powers. For moiety 1, the prayers invoke the powers above the earth; for moiety 2, they invoke the spirits of the earth and water. Each Longhouse follows a different order of invocations, and each speaker knows a variant version (Chafe, 1961). The dancers saunter around the floor during the prayers and dance during the chants.

IV. The singers change instruments and places. Then they recapitulate some of the dance songs in II, omitting the introductory chants. They render the final song with greater speed and emphasis, and the dancers also exert themselves.

Not all participants outlast the strenuous performance. There is much coming and going as individuals join in, drop out, and perhaps re-join so as to be among the finalists.

The men's step recurs in other dances, without the gestures; the women's *enskanye* step, besides constituting one of the most important separate dances of the Longhouse, has many reappearances. Chapter 3 lists the related dances.

Other Events

The installation of officials and the restoration of mourners who distribute gifts at the end of their period of mourning are two impressive but non-choreographic events which may take place either before or after the Drum Dance.

Bowl Game

The final ritual, a gambling game, is a contest between the moieties and also an act of ritual sacrifice. The rules for playing are complicated and traditional. The surrounding activity, though not strictly dancing, is fraught with excitement and climax.

After the Drum Dance performance, two runners, one from each side, go to the homes and collect wagers such as blankets or clothes, which have been prepared in anticipation of the event. On the day for the game the contest is announced, and the wagers are placed in the Longhouse, tied in pairs—a wager of moiety 1 is tied to a wager from moiety 2. Two benches are set at right angles to the long walls, and a bowl with special marked peachstone pits rests on a blanket in between the benches.

After the usual prayer, a player from each side kneels or crouches by the bowl, back to the long walls. Usually the runners are the first to kneel. They vigorously toss the pits within the bowl, while moiety members sit on the opposite benches, and other spectators lean over their shoulders. The spectators shout and cheer. When their side is winning, they shout *Hayo-oh* with rising inflection. When they are losing, they dolefully moan *Da-ah*. Perhaps an expert singer helps his side by chanting a Dream Song against the background of cheers and moans. Finally, one of the players wins, according to the rules in Speck (1949: 141–145).

Then another pair, either of men or of women, tosses the stones. Excitement increases, and some male spectators shake their fists and yell. This keeps on until one side wins all the counters. They must conclude soon after noon; the game may take two days, maybe three. In case of no decision on the first day, there is a social dance at night. Hence nobody minds the delay. Finally, when one moiety wins, the winners receive the wagers. Then there is a feast and a Feather Dance to celebrate the successful conclusion of the ceremonies.

Despite the excitement over the game, the outcome creates no hostility. This year's losers may be next year's winners. The contest is not a personal matter; it is a ritual for the good of the community.

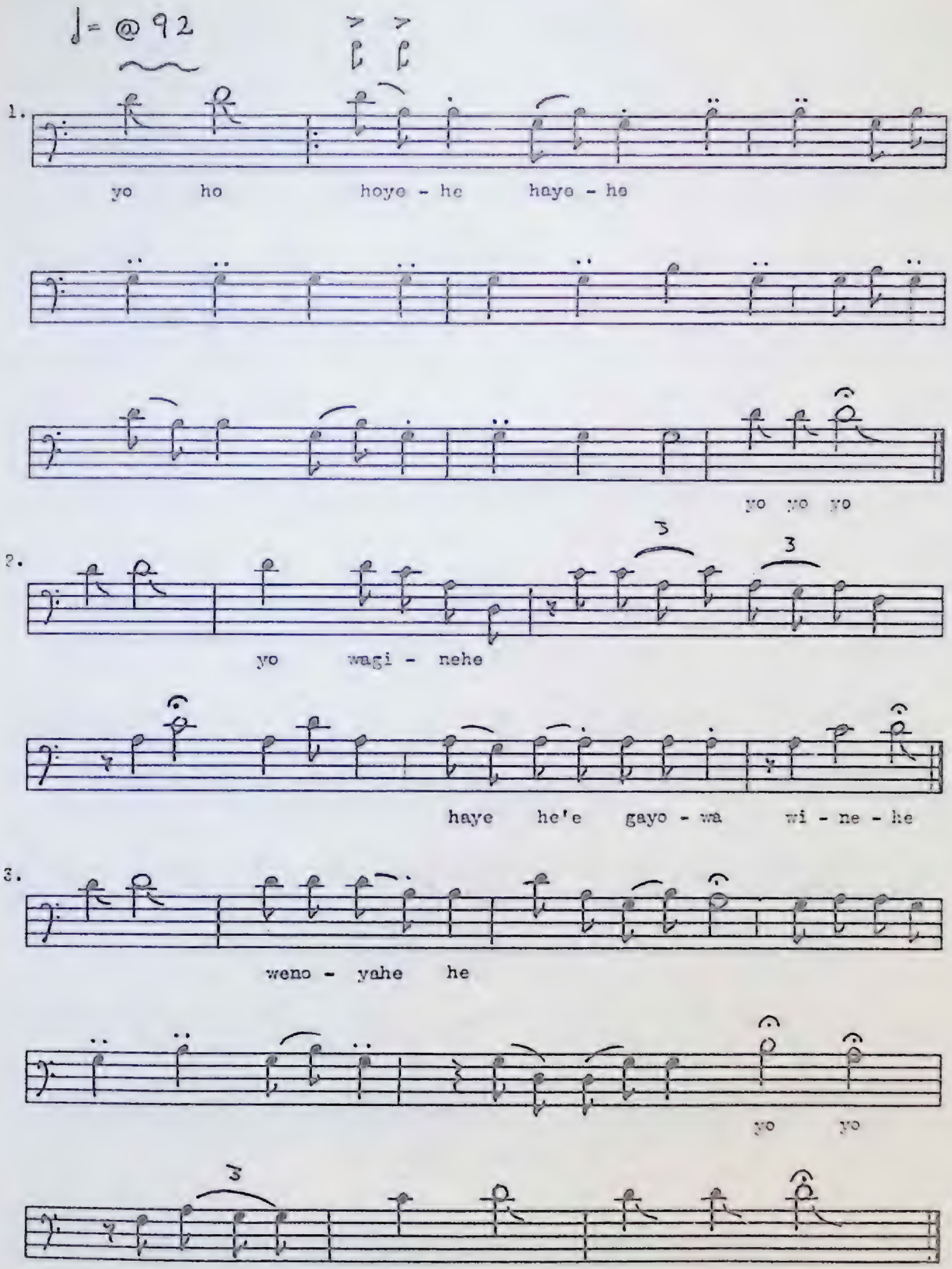
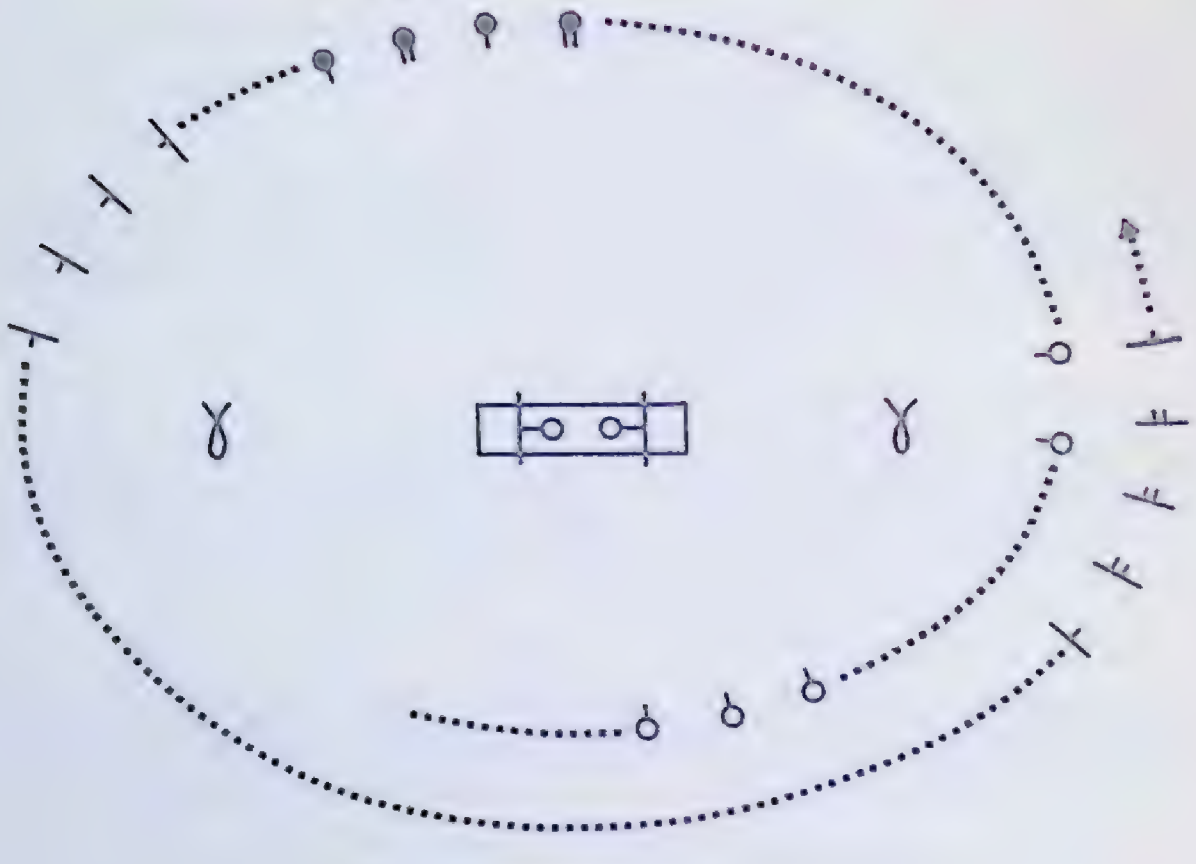


FIGURE 35—FEATHER DANCE, *Introduction*



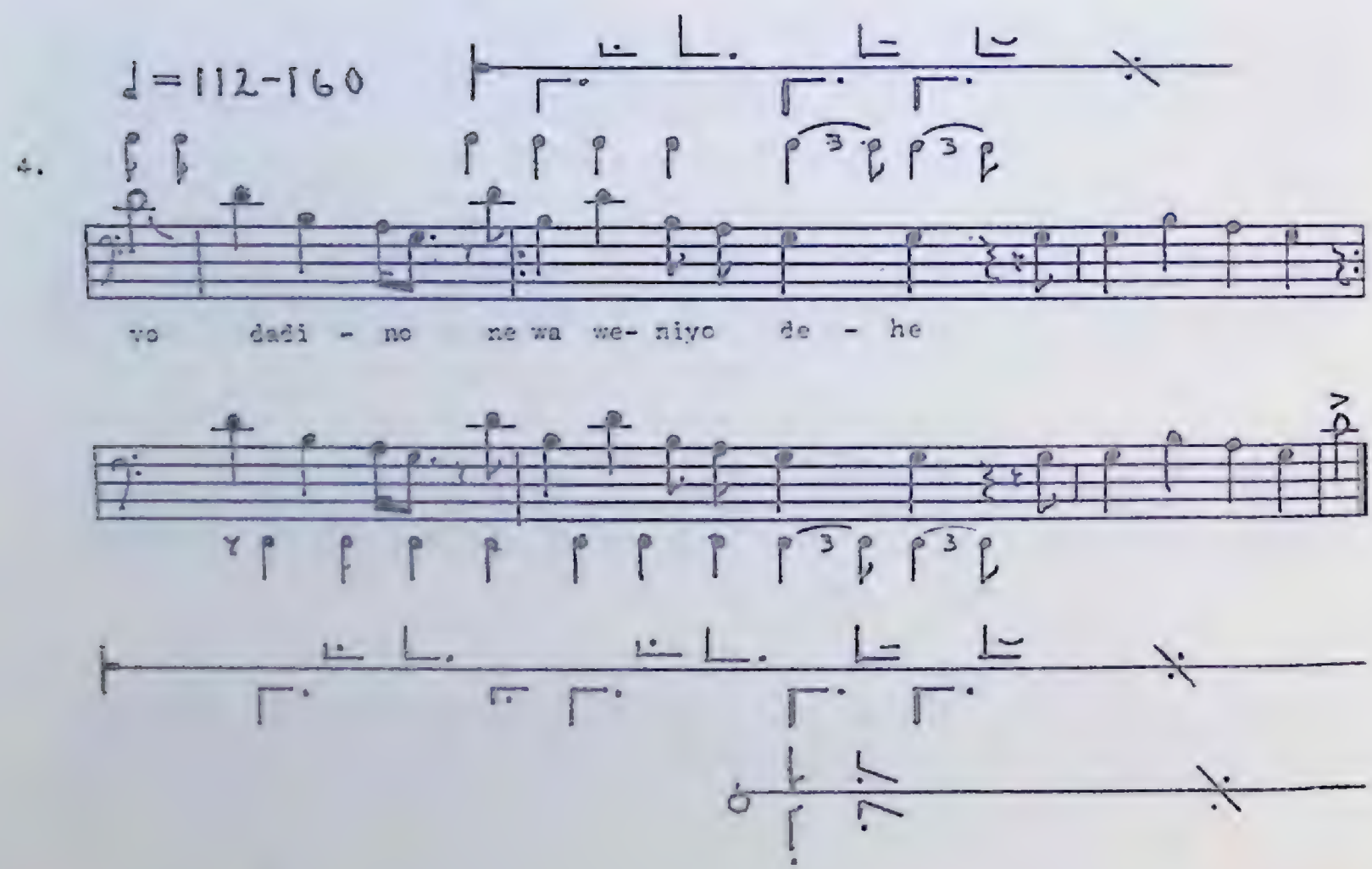


FIGURE 36—GREAT FEATHER DANCE (cont.)

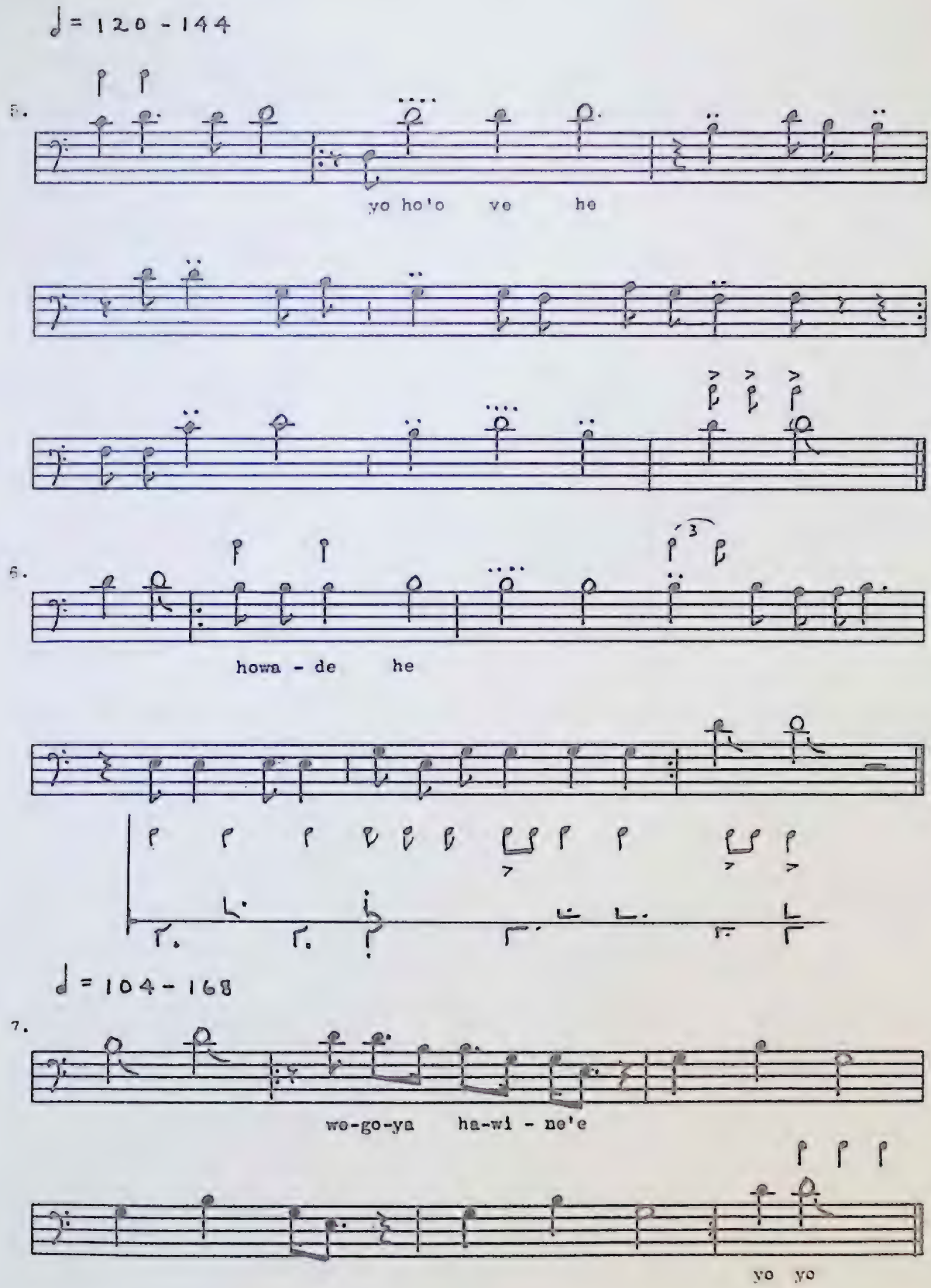


FIGURE 37—GREAT FEATHER DANCE (cont.)

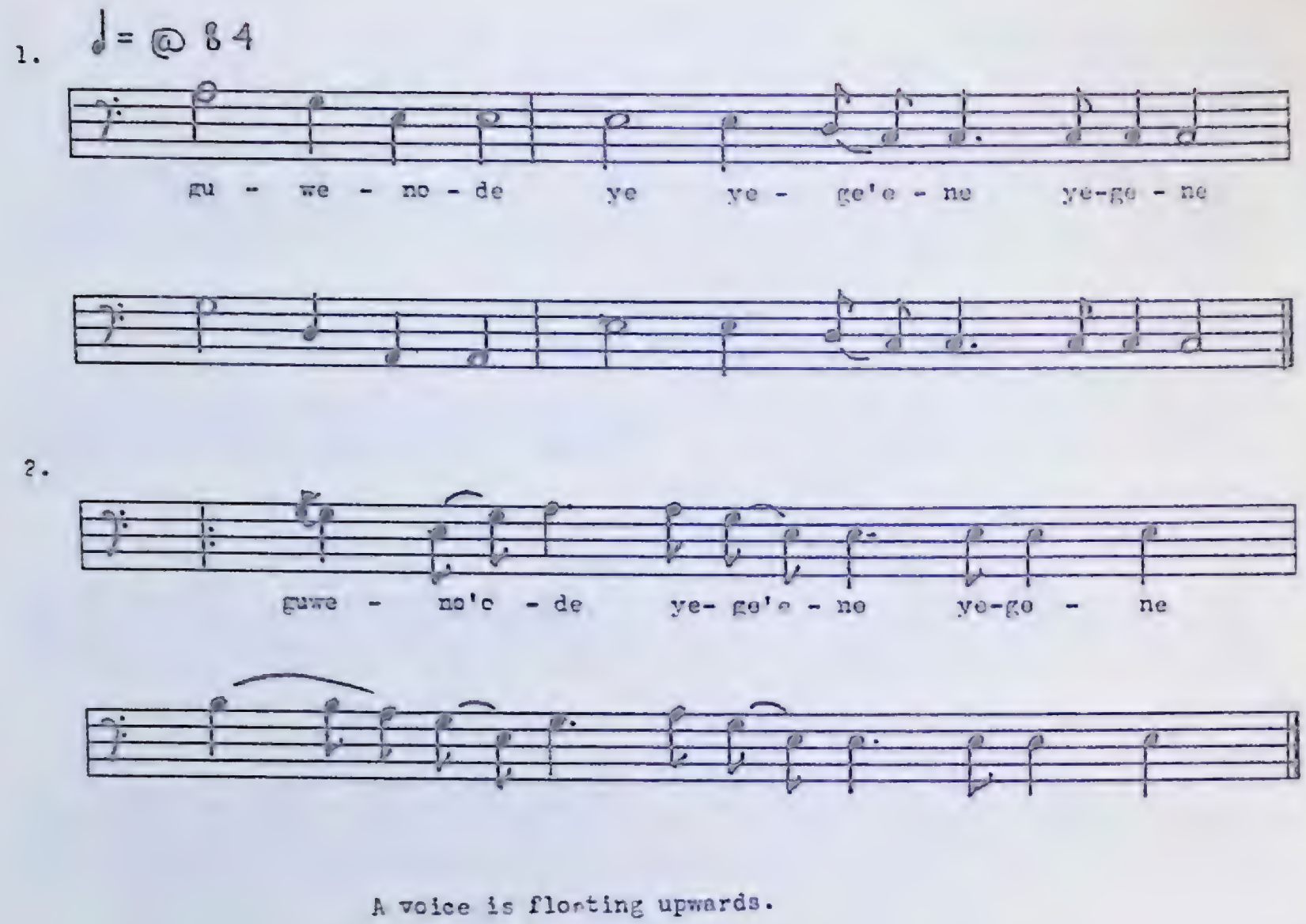


FIGURE 38—TOBACCO INVOCATION, FORMER WHITE DOG BURNING CHANTS
1. Deer Clan, Joseph Logan, Sr.
2. Wolf Clan, Roy Buck

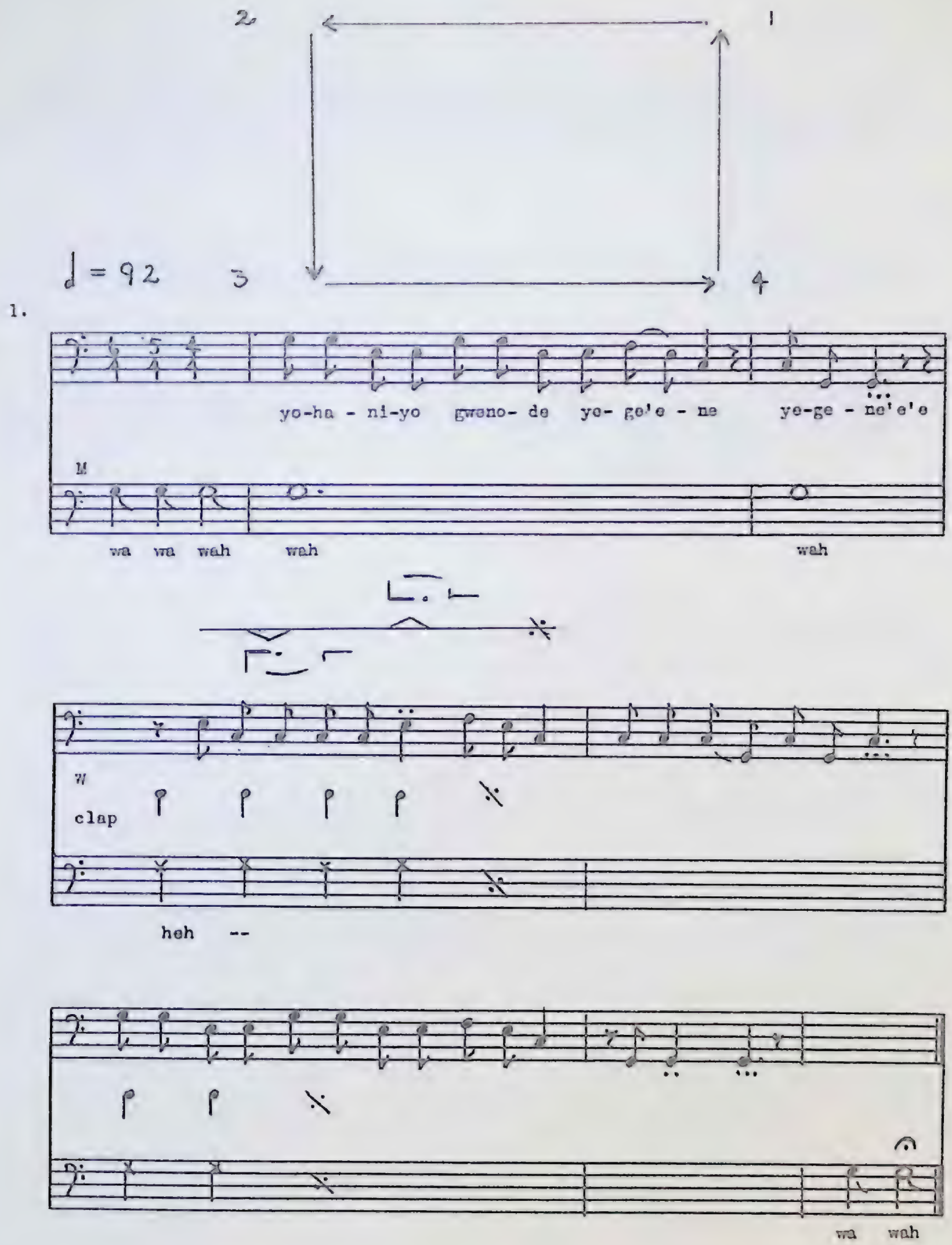


FIGURE 39—ADONWE CHANT, Peter Buck, Male Chorus, Women's Clapping

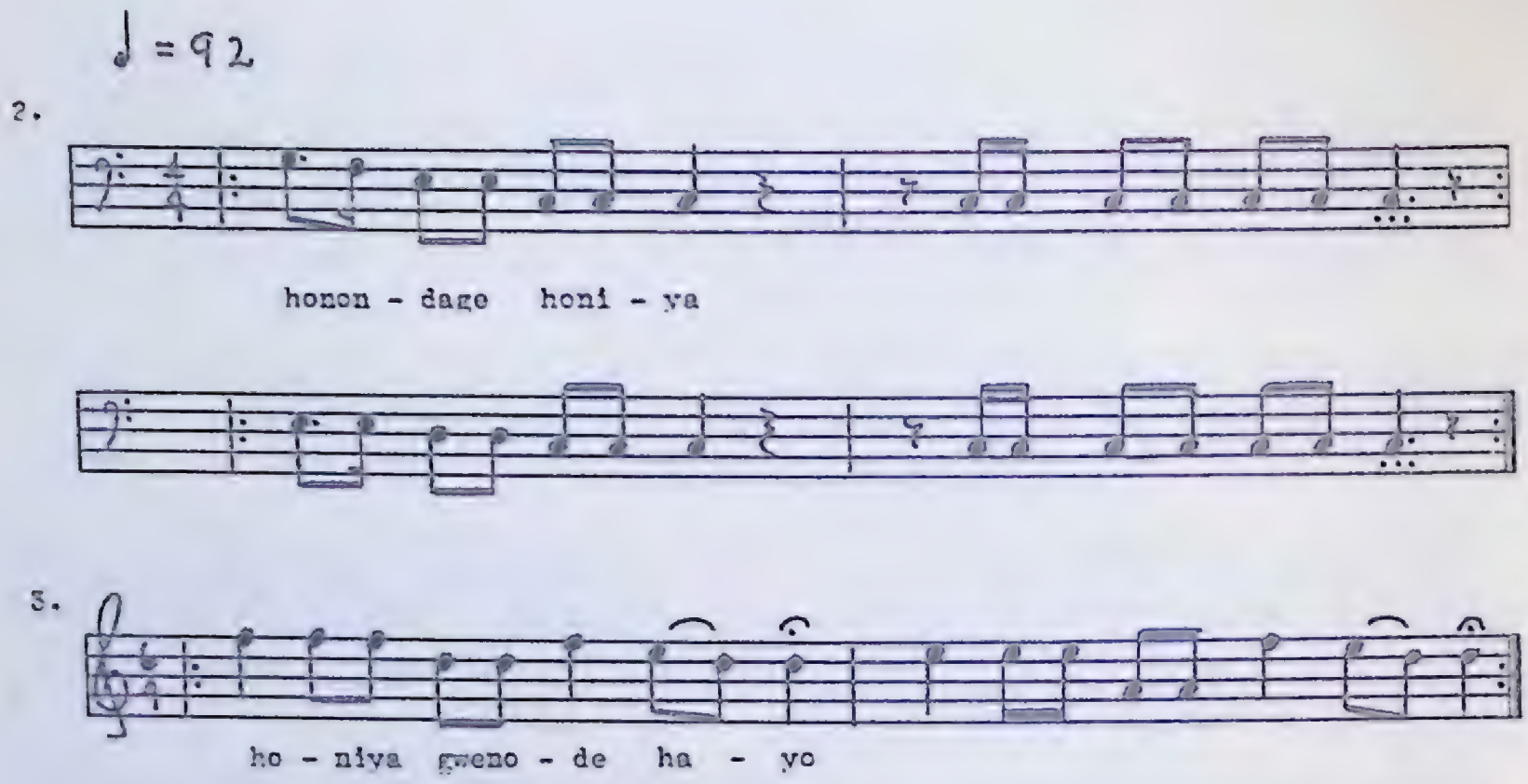
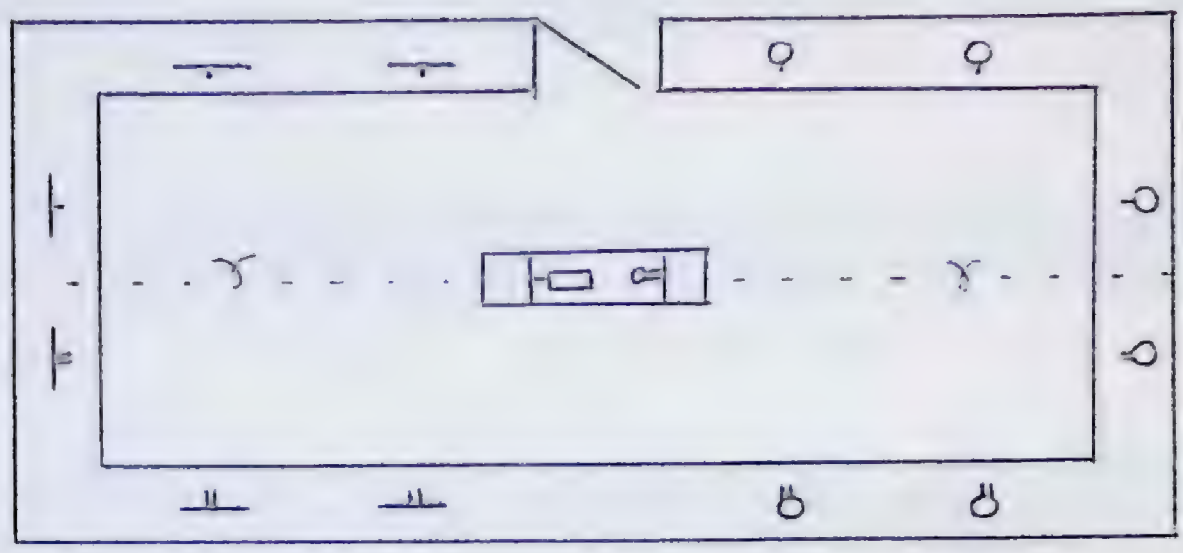


FIGURE 40—ADONWE CHANTS
2. Peter Buck, 1952
3. Gordie Buck, 1952



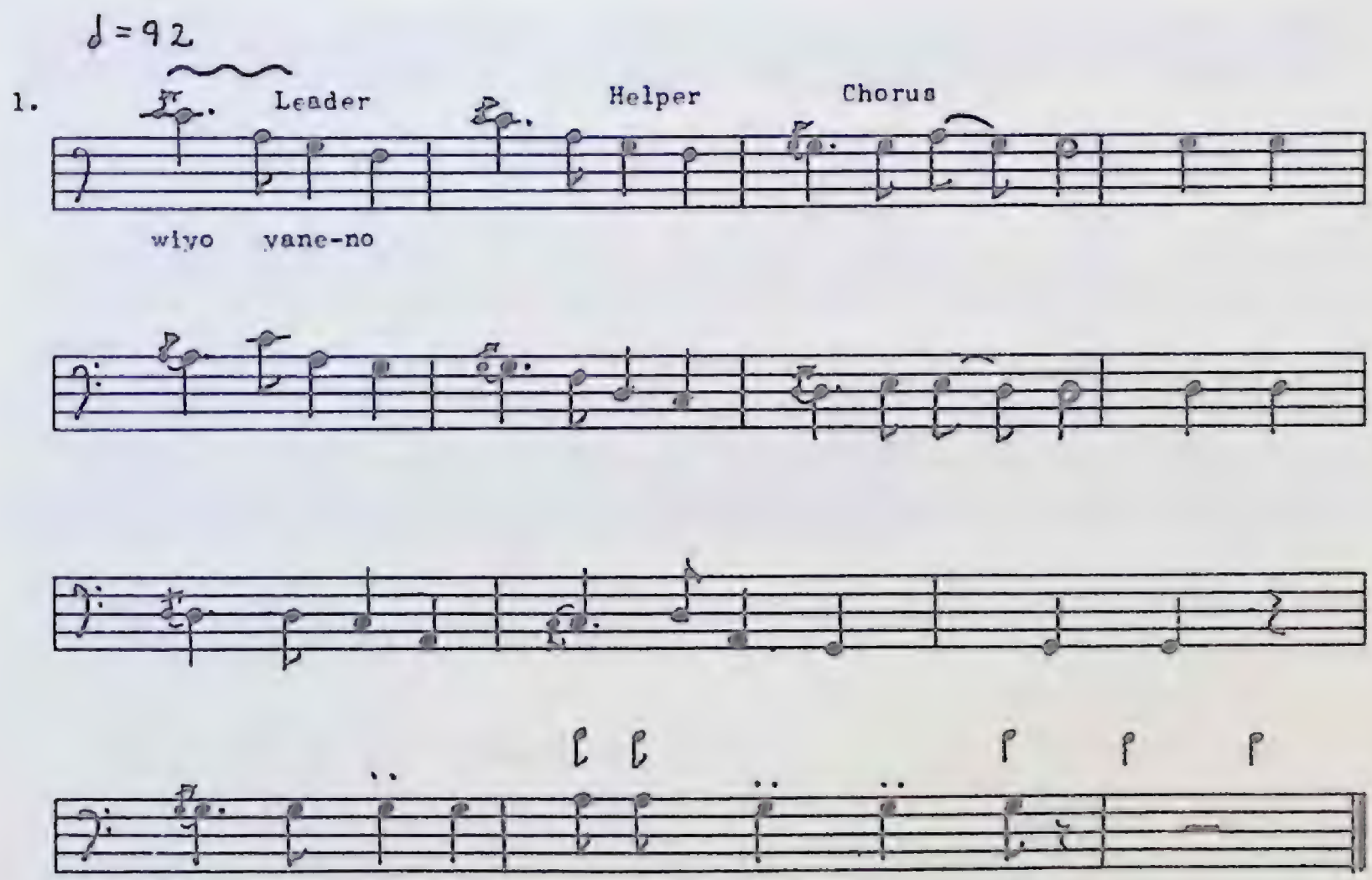


FIGURE 41— DRUM DANCE, OPENING CHANT.
Setting: Onondaga Longhouse *In Summer*.

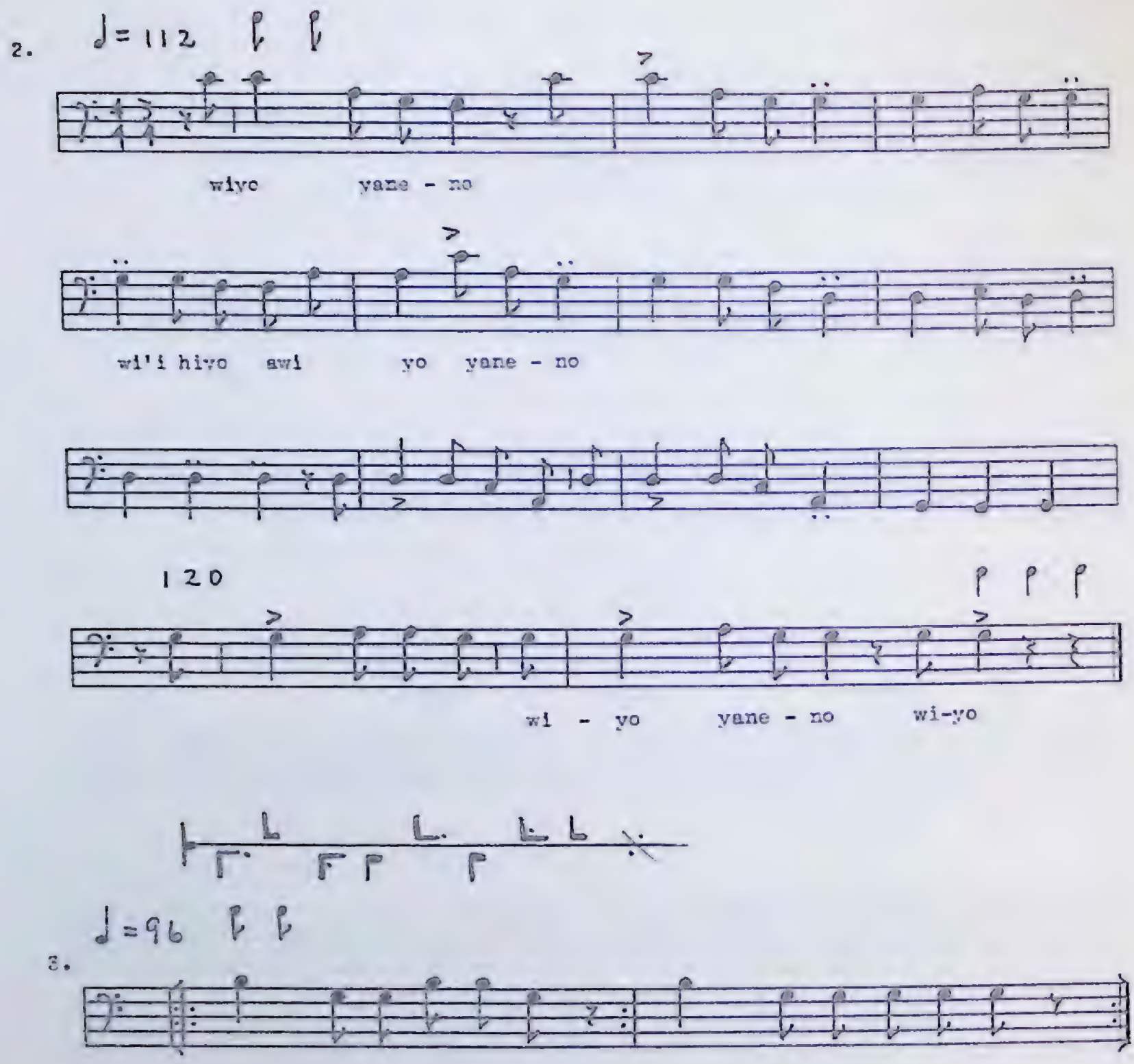


FIGURE 42—DRUM DANCE, CHANT, FIRST DANCE

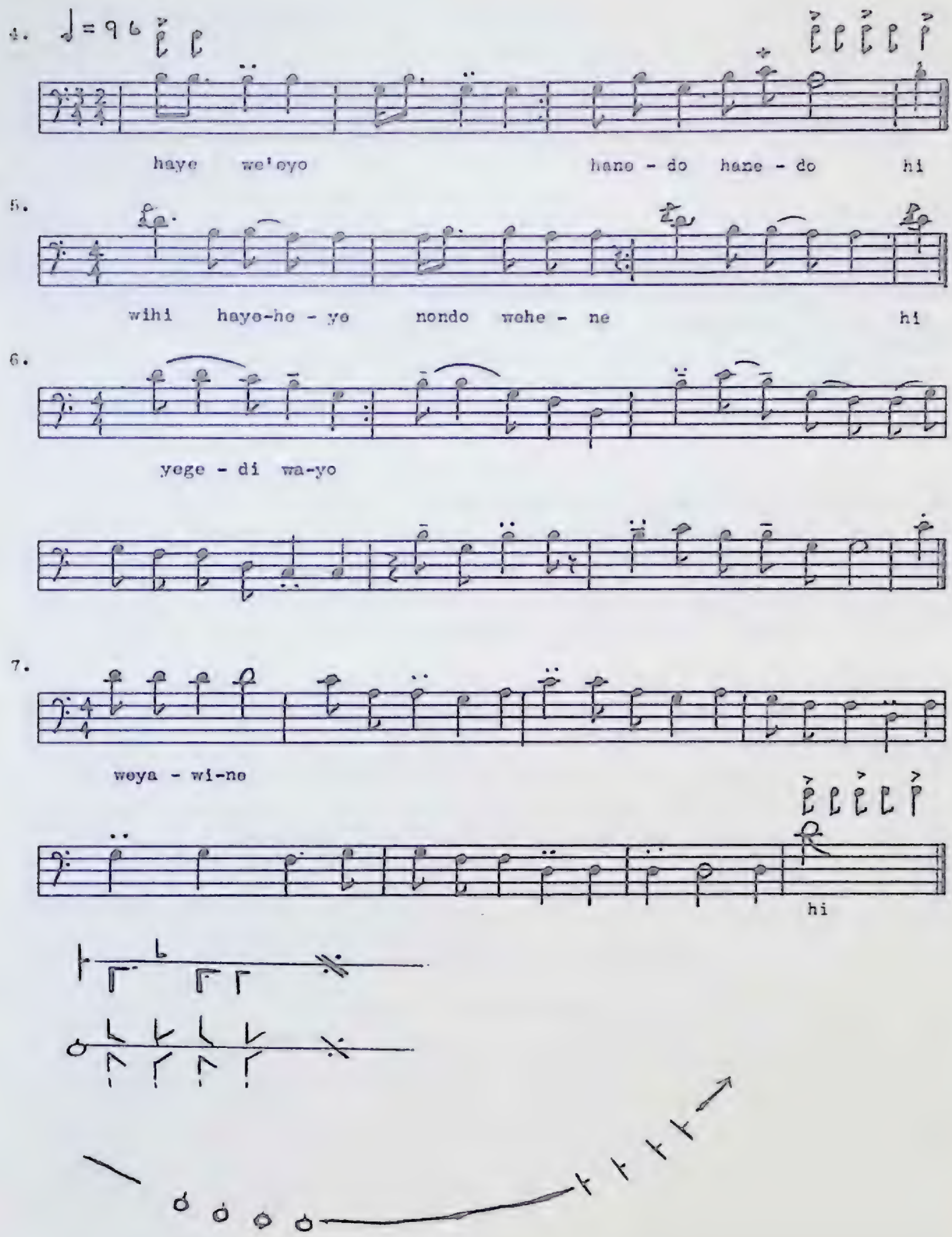


FIGURE 43—DRUM DANCE (cont.)

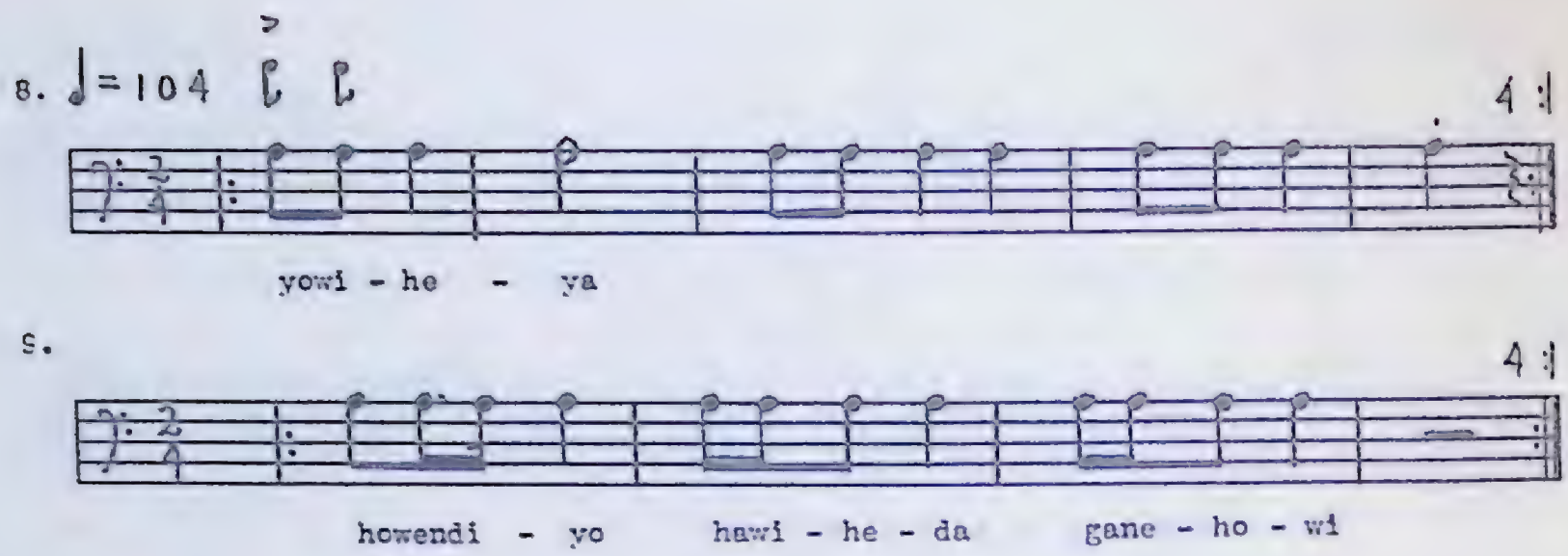


FIGURE 44—DRUM DANCE, CHANTS BETWEEN PRAYERS

CHAPTER SEVEN

Food Spirit Dances

The one-day summer festivals for the food spirits contain the ubiquitous Feather Dance and also three important women's dances and four collective rounds. The first-fruit rituals do not include all these dances on the same occasion, as shown in Chapter 1. They invariably insert an *enskanye* between two Feather Dances, one for the Faithkeepers and another for everyone. The remaining program varies with the season and the Longhouse.

Women's Shuffle Dance or Enskanye

The women symbolize the corn and other agricultural spirits in their revered shuffle dance, particularly in the ceremonial types of dance. They distinguish between the old *enskanye* or *enskanye gayonka* with traditional songs and the new *enskanye* with new songs. In New York State the Seneca also perform an elaborate song series for a great *enskanye, enskanyegowa* (Kurath, 1963: 16–18).

Though *enskanye* occurs in the Four Sacred Rituals, it is more essential to those summer rites that are under female management. Women of all ages may join the circle after the leading matrons; men are confined to the roles of accompanist and spectator. Usually about six men play drums and horn rattles and sing. They sit face-to-face on two central benches; sometimes boys sit with them. The soloist gives the tune, the chorus repeats it, and together they complete the song with a steady duple beat. They do not use the elaborate percussion pattern customary with the new songs (Chap. 10). Though the song types vary, the women do the same saw-footing on all occasions, and they jiggle their arms if they have mastered the coordination.

Society of Women Planters – Gowisas (Oa) or Towisas (Ca)

The women are the sole singers and dancers in their spring and fall ritual. Two leading matrons know the entire song series, but each matron member has her own song which corresponds to the male *adonwe*. Women sing about progeny and crops as they glorify their traditional roles as mothers and horticulturalists. In the spring they pray for good crops, and in the fall they give thanks. The order of events follows:

I. The members of the two moieties sit face-to-face on two benches at the women's end of the Longhouse. The two leaders sing antiphonally, while they shake a small turtle rattle. The Onondaga matrons use the traditional tortoise-shell rattle, but the other groups use a small variety of the Feather Dance rattle.

II. All women stand and sing their individual chants, in turn, as they pass the rattle in a counterclockwise direction.

III. Sometimes, at their own end of the Longhouse, several men arise to sing their *adonwe*.

IV. The women, each holding an ear of corn in the right hand, slowly walk around the floor, singing Marching Songs.

They serve cornmeal mush from an iron kettle to all spectators.

According to a legend, this ceremony derives from the Cherokee in the southern mountains (Parker, 1909: 179). Yet the pattern of individual chant resembles that of the male *adonwe*, and the ritual incorporates the men's individual chant, which appears to be northern in origin (Kurath, 1961: 184–185).

Four Nights Harvest Rite or Geiniwashondage

This women's ritual certainly derives from the Tutelo tribe which lived next to Six Nations Reserve as refugees from the southern piedmont. The eight parts of the dance include several steps common to the Iroquois as well as unique steps and gestures. From a repertoire of forty songs, there is one song to represent each part, Figures 48 and 49 (*See* Kurath, 1953).

I. Introductory songs by men, first with a tremolo of drum and horn rattles, then with a duple beat.

II. Dance with singing by men and women, in the manner of the *ohgiwe* renderings. With a foot motion to every second drum beat, the women step forward right, then brush forward with the left heel, then step left and brush right. This unusual step may be termed the Tutelo step.

III. Corn mime, with singing by both sexes. During the Tutelo step, the women rhythmically move their hands, with a special mime to each of four songs; namely, husking corn, pounding corn, winnowing corn, and making cornbread. The song words, in Tutelo, refer to corn.

IV. To songs by men only, the women step-flex to the right side without gestures, facing centre as in the Buffalo Dance.

V. To songs by men, the women saunter during A, *enskanye* during B, and run backwards while holding the waist of the woman ahead during C.

VI. As they re-join in the singing, they mime a strawberry search. As they step-pat slowly in long strides, they lean forward and brush near the floor with their hands.

VII. Still singing, they return to the plain Tutelo step.

VIII. To rapid songs by the men, the women pair up, *enskanye* during B, cross over during C, and again *enskanye* for the conclusion.

Trotting or Standing Quiver Dance

The stomp dance par excellence is for everyone—men and women, old and young, Longhouse members and visitors. It has lost its former warrior connotations, and it now celebrates harvests. It always features in social dance evenings and often starts these gatherings. Since there is no instrument, and since many men know the songs, the dance could be performed anywhere at any time, as *gadatseda* (Oa) or *gadashot* (Ca).

All the songs are antiphonal, that is, the dance leader gives a phrase and the helpers answer. In fact, any man may join the responding chorus. The leaders start circling the bench (in New York State, the men's stove), uttering short, almost monotone phrases. Others join, alternately men and women, in the usual Iroquois manner. Some of the melodic songs are traditional, and some are original compositions. After the first songs, the order does not matter, but songs with spicy words usually come at the end.

Each song has a peculiarity, with corresponding choreography. After a number of repetitions of the first theme, A, the melodic level rises for part B,—and then it reverts to repeats of part A. The action is—

A. Stomp forwards.
B. Stomp right sidewards, facing centre.
C. Stomp forwards.

With increasing animation, individuals improvise a variant in part B (Chap. 10), but they do not mime the words as the Cherokee do in their related Friendship Stomp (Speck and Broom, 1951: 65–68), nor is there any contact or intimacy between the sexes.

Corn Dance

The Corn Dance, *oneha,* is a distinct, fairly short dance, not to be confused with the composite Corn Ceremonies. Though essentially a food spirit dance, it may double as a medicine rite, and it frequently appears in social dance evenings.

The songs, among the most melodious of Iroquois tunes, are self-accompanied; that is, they are accompanied by horn rattles in the hands of the two dance leaders. The first, introductory, chant has an instrumental tremolo; two dance songs, with duple beat, are antiphonal, as in the Trotting Dance; the rest, selected arbitrarily from the repertoire, are chanted only by the two leaders.

The choreography resembles the Trotting Dance in the first two dance songs, with forward, sideward, forward progression, by stomp steps. Later on, the dancers turn momentarily sidewards at the beginning of each song repeat. In the Seneca Longhouses men and women alternate just as in the Trotting Dance, but in the Cayuga Longhouses they dance segregated, and at Onondaga they are coupled, a woman hooking elbows with a man. Some interpret this as the beans climbing up cornstalks.

Often the Corn Dance merges into the Trotting Dance. At the end of the second-to-last song the leaders utter short antiphonal phrases. At the end of the last song they do the same, still with rattle background. Then they silence the rattles and commence the antiphonies of the Trotting Dance. They usually keep this up for two or three songs of the Trotting Dance.

Bean or Hand-in-Hand Dance

There is some ambiguity in the explanation of this dance and in the various origin legends. Most fitting for Food Spirit rites is the interpretation that beans and squash are reaching their tendrils around and up the corn stalks, among which they are planted. Formerly the alternate name had meaning, for the dancers—man, woman, man, woman—held hands in the line. Today they do

this only in the pageant, not in the Longhouse. The stomp step is so slow as to be a processional walk to the complex songs with a full scale. There is no choreographic change, but at the end of the dance the leaders may commence the Trotting Dance in the same way as they do after the Corn Dance. Hand-in-Hand may also be a social dance. It is termed *deyondaneshonta*.

Shaking-a-Squash Dance

Gashedondadon, addressing the third Spirit sister, is becoming rare in Food Spirit Rituals and more frequent in social occasions. The name, too, has lost its significance, for the accompaniment is not by squash rattle but by drum and horn rattle. Two special singers sit on a bench. They sing a short series of traditional songs in different style from the previous suites, but in duple rhythm for the regular stomp step. At the end of each song the dance leaders repeat short, bitonal antiphonies. There is no choreographic change until the end. The women, who have been separated from the men, move up for an alternate array as the leaders merge the antiphony into the Trotting Dance.

Thus the Trotting Dance ties together the Food Spirit Rounds. The step type and some of the antiphonal techniques reappear in the category of social dances.

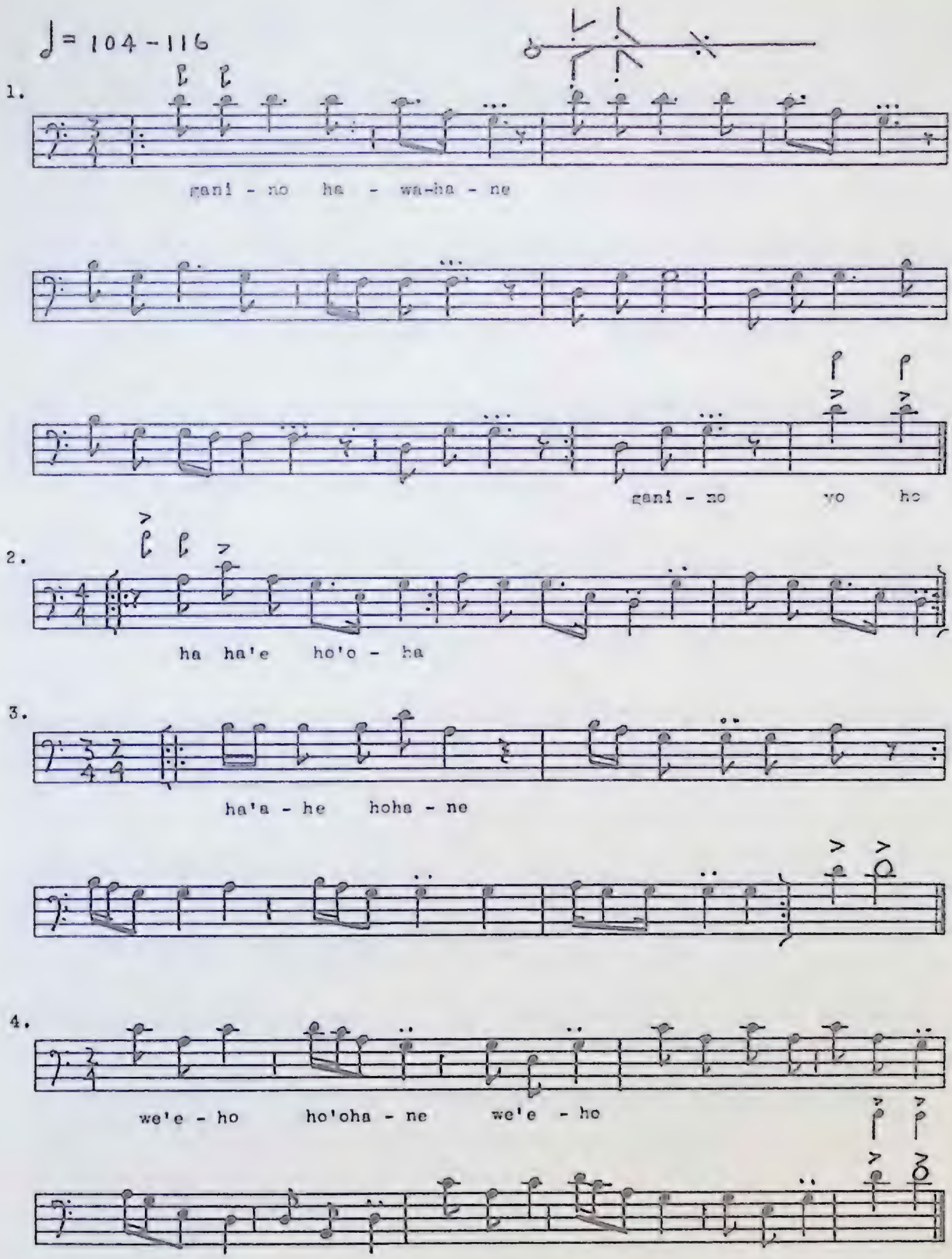
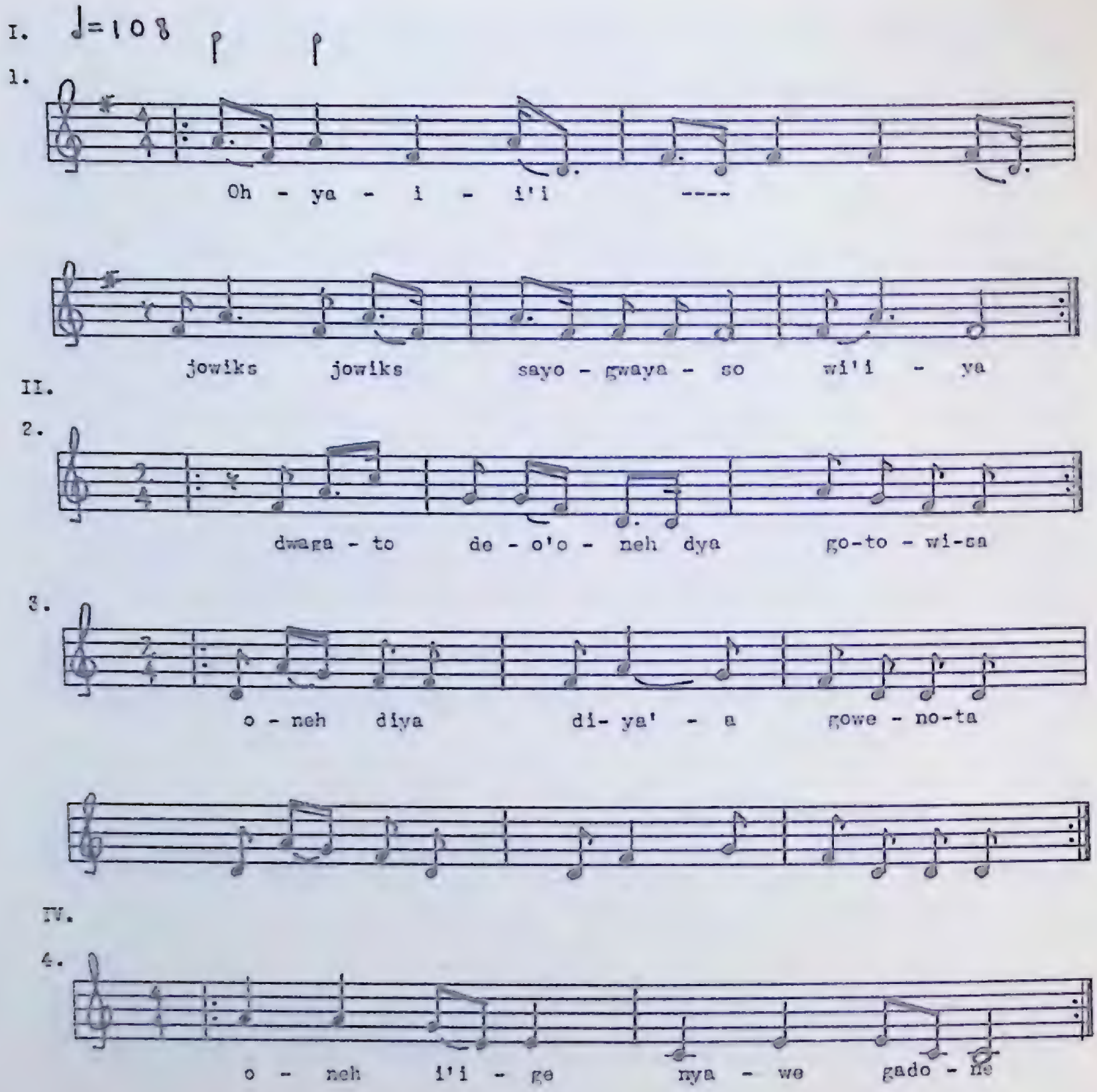
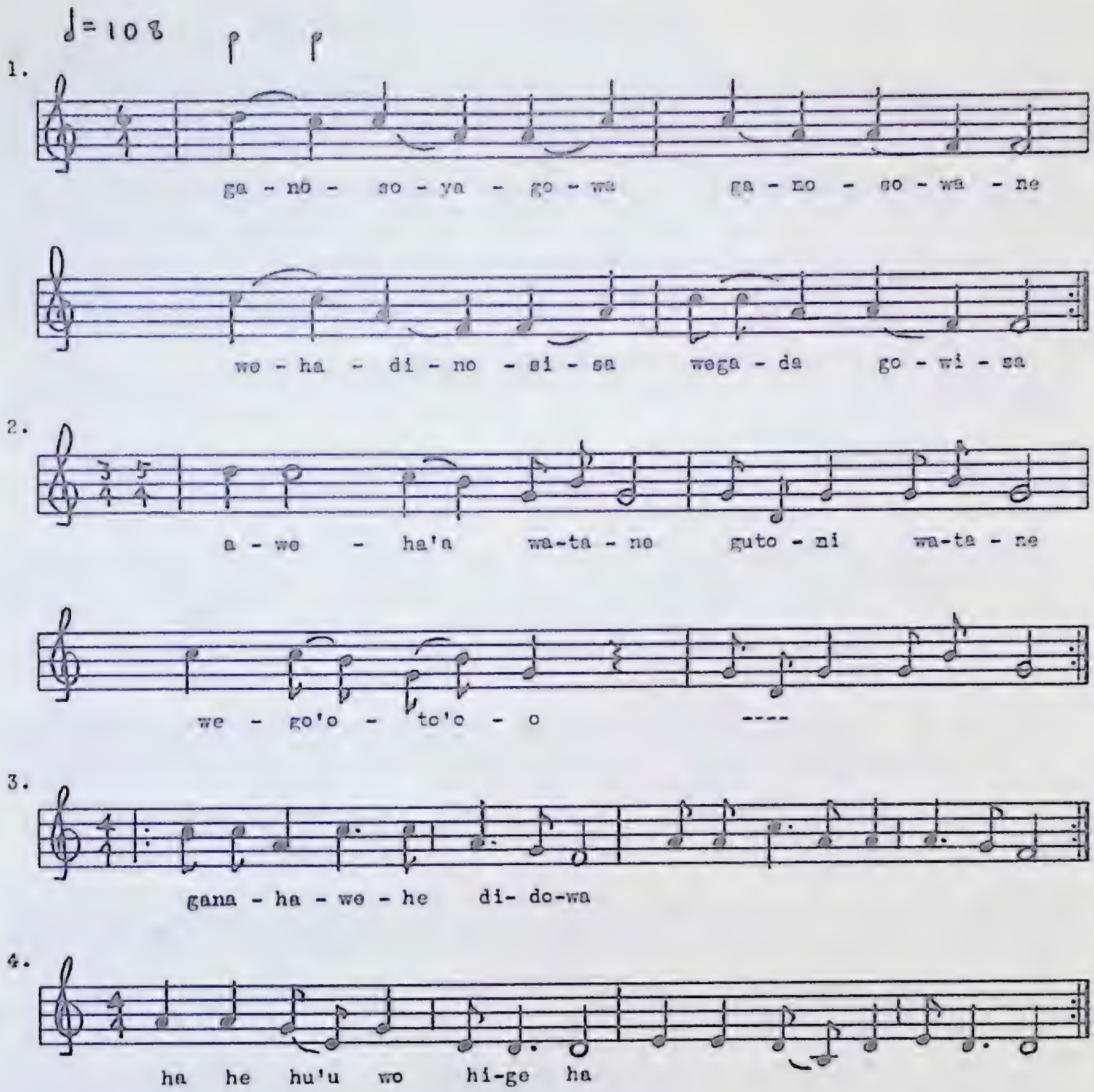


FIGURE 45—RITUAL WOMEN'S SHUFFLE DANCE, OLD TIME SONGS



1. Berries are ripe. The jowiks (bird) says, "We have partaken and are satisfied."
2. I hear now the women's song.
3. Now I hear her voice.
4. Now I am walking. Thanks I am saying.

FIGURE 46—WOMEN PLANTERS SOCIETY, Parts I, II, and IV.
ONONDAGA-CAYUGA SONGS BY JEMIMA GIBSON.
Part III—INDIVIDUAL ADONWE BY MEN.



1. Anna Green, Onondaga Longhouse, Wolf Clan, 1952
2. Anna Green, 1963
3. Esther Jamieson, Soursprings Cayuga, Bear Clan, 1952
4. Esther Jamieson, 1963

Texts. 1. There was a big house right there. I sang gowisa.
2. Everything is blossoming (Wolf clan).
3. The seed is our mother (Bear clan).
4. I am walking.

FIGURE 47—WOMEN PLANTERS, INDIVIDUAL SONGS FOR PART II.

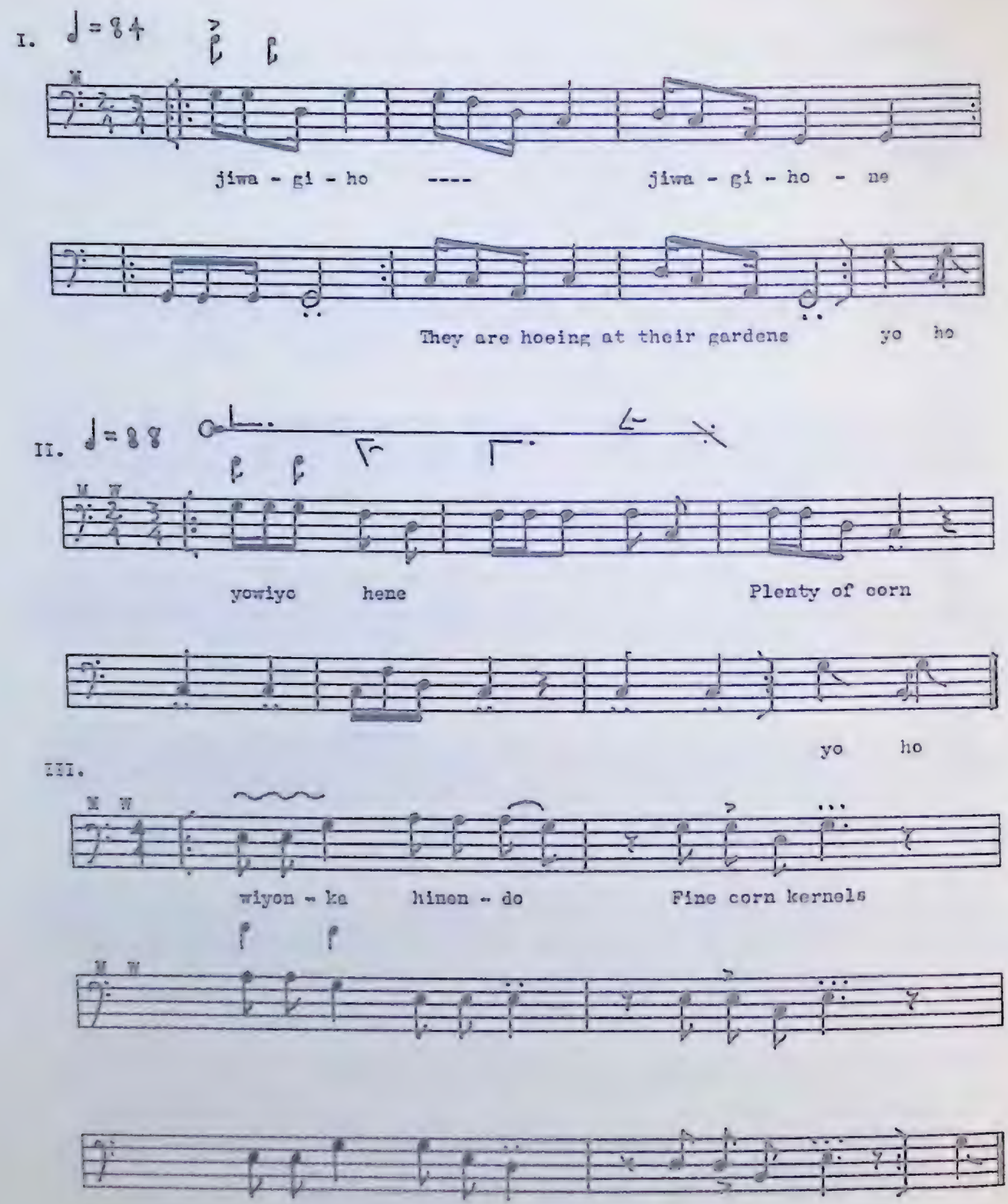


FIGURE 48—FOUR NIGHTS HARVEST DANCE, Parts I, II, III

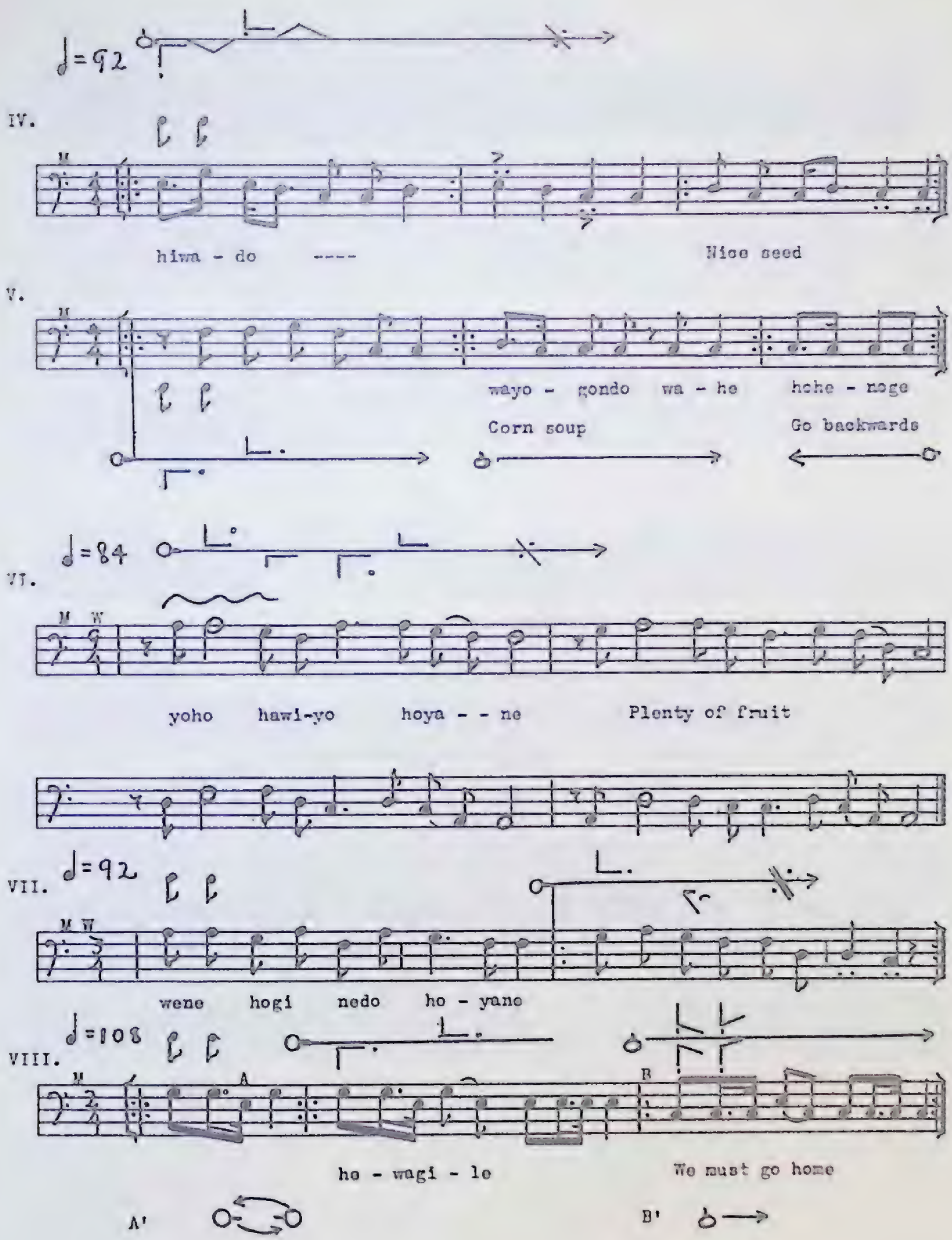


FIGURE 49—FOUR NIGHTS, Parts IV, V, VI, VII, VIII

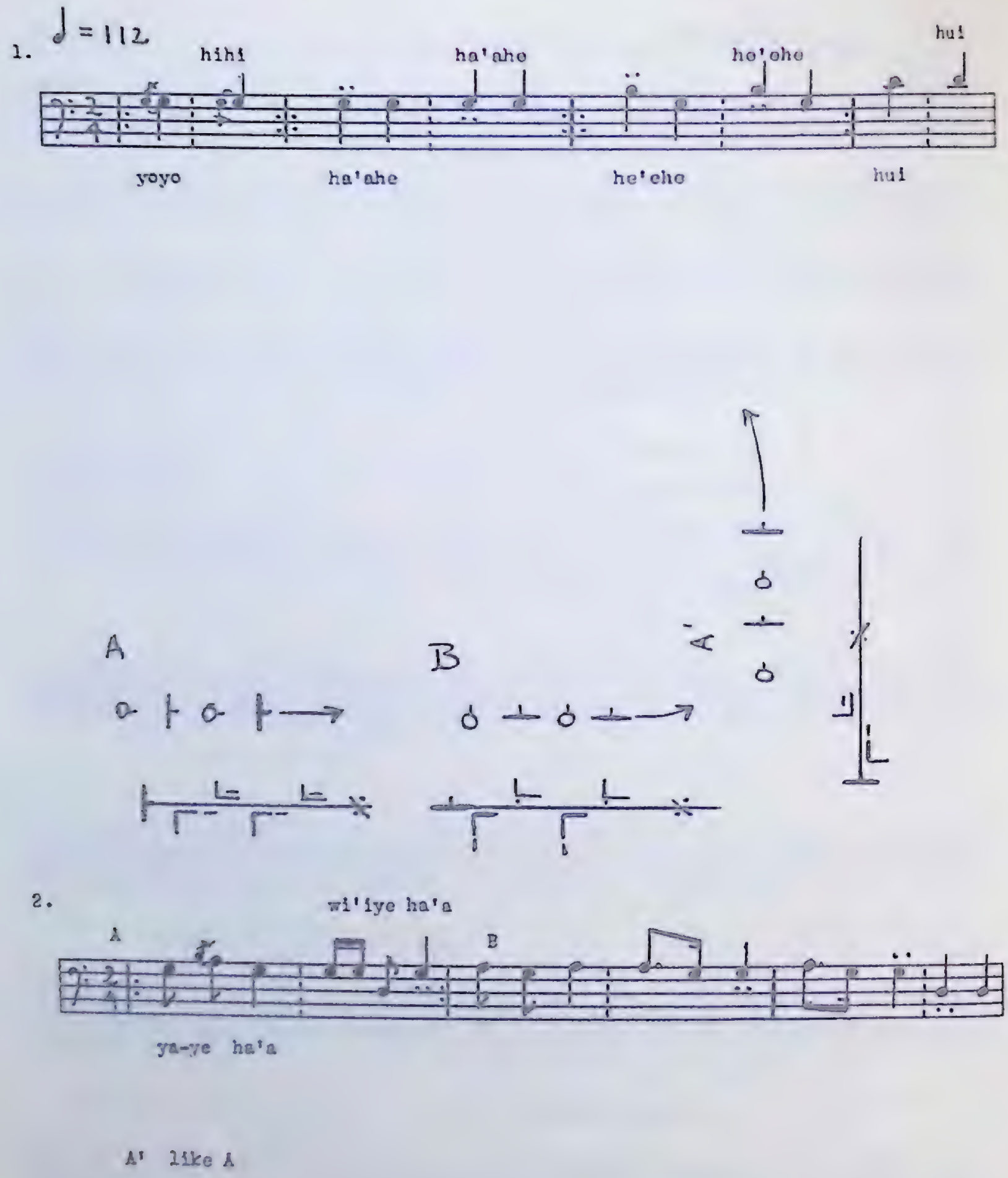


FIGURE 50—TROTTING DANCE, first songs and choreography

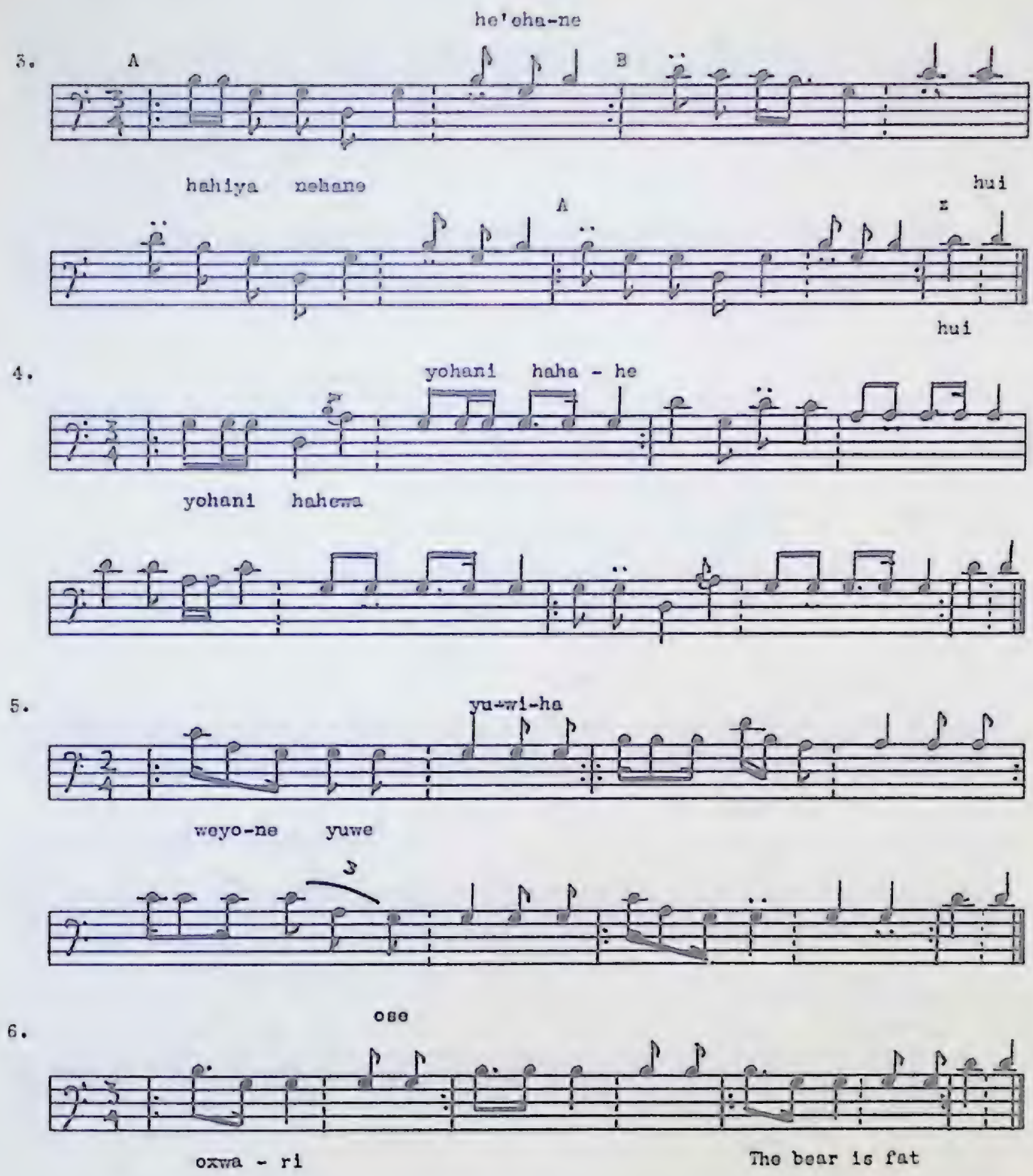


FIGURE 51—TROTTING DANCE, more songs

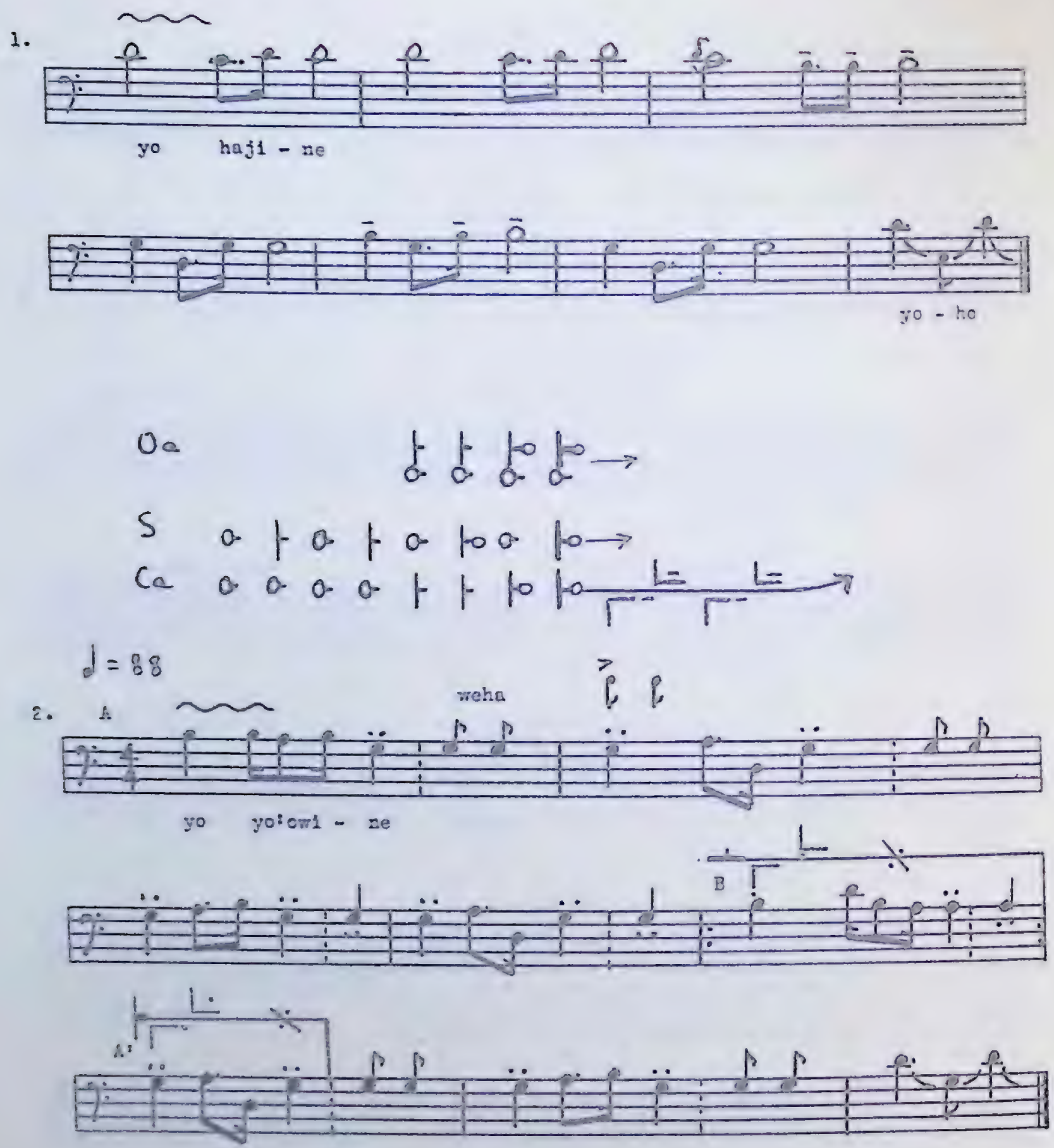


FIGURE 52—CORN DANCE, chant and choreography in three longhouses

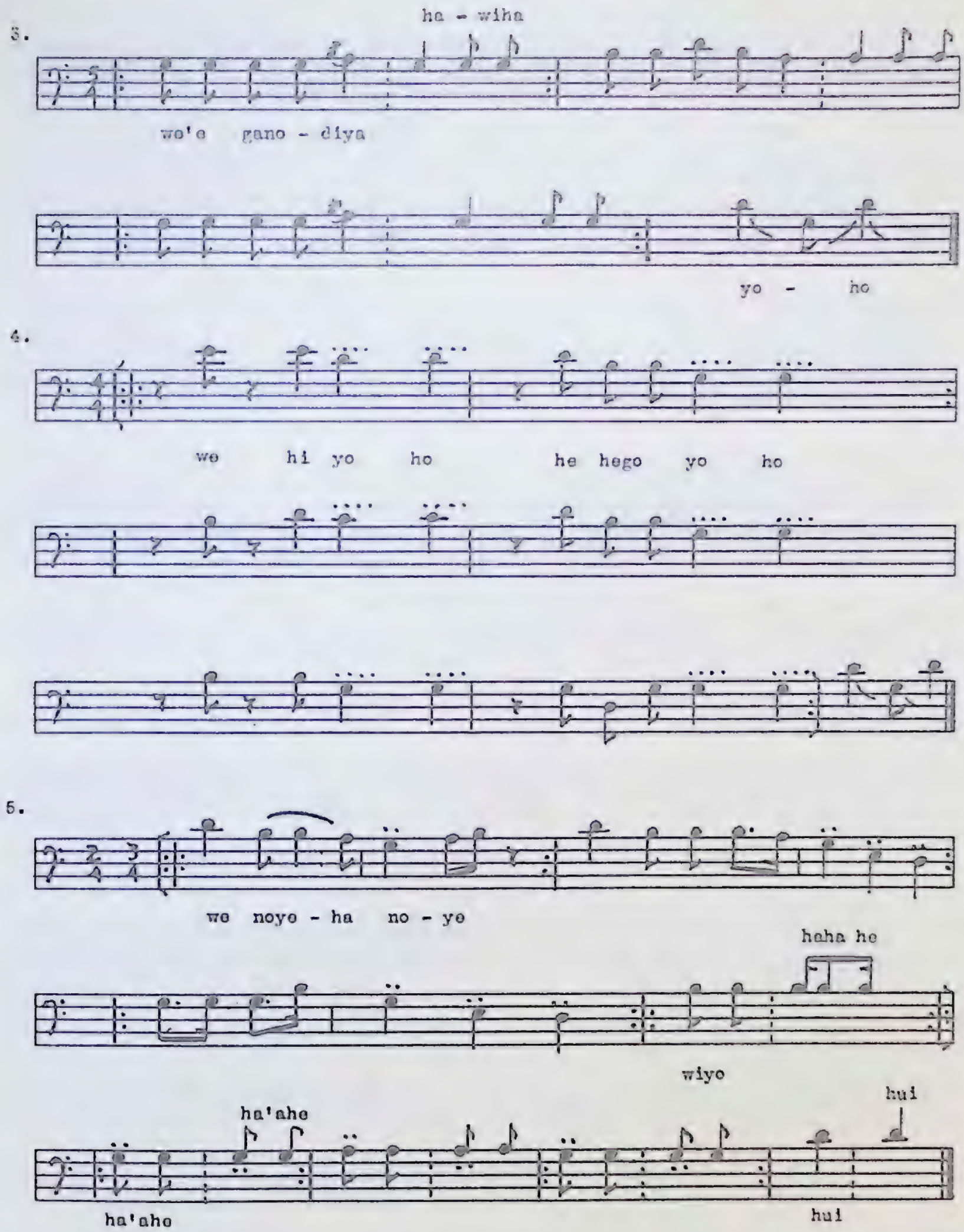


FIGURE 53—CORN DANCE (cont.) Song 5, transition to TROTTING DANCE

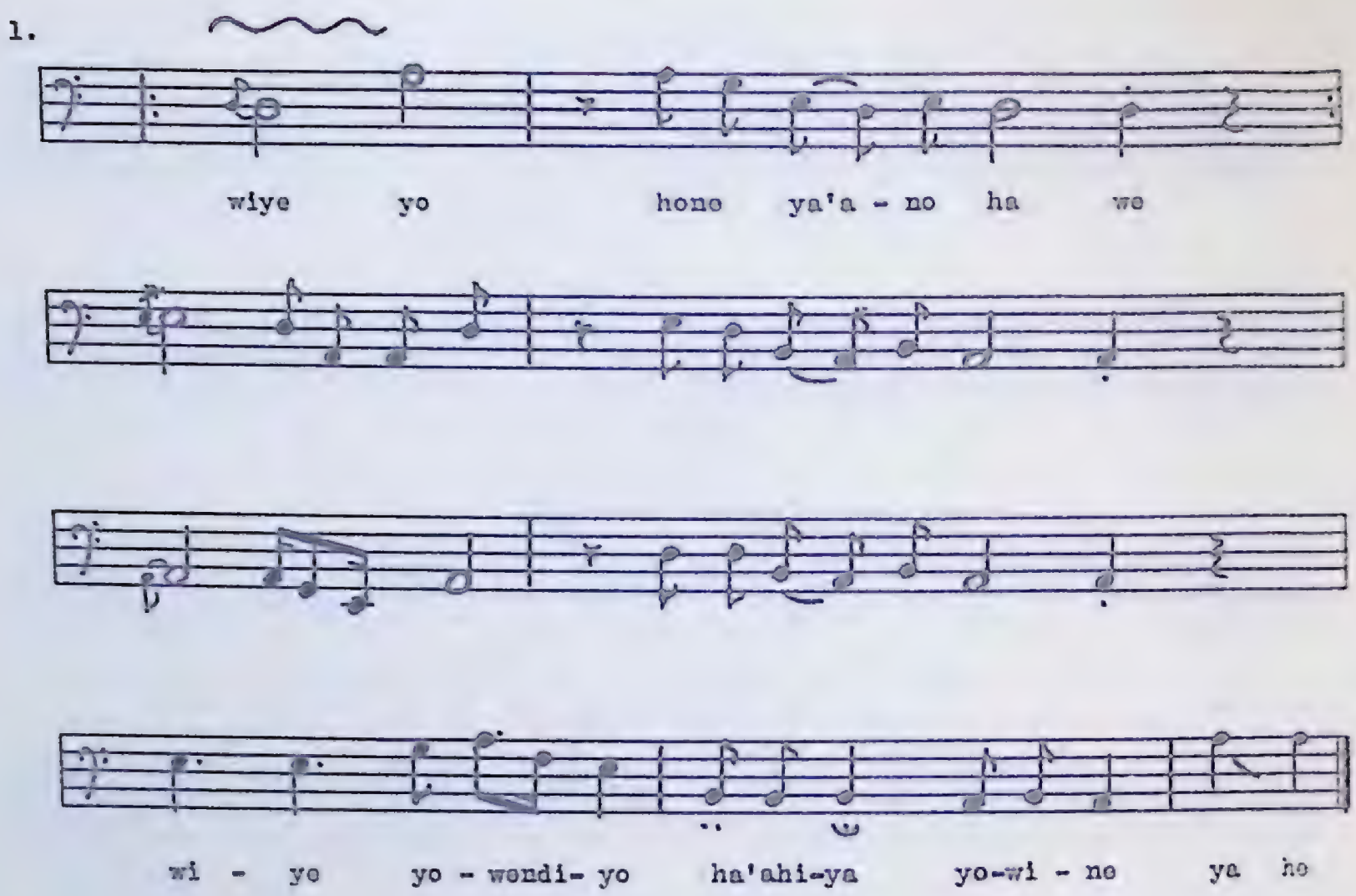


FIGURE 54—BEAN DANCE, introductory chant

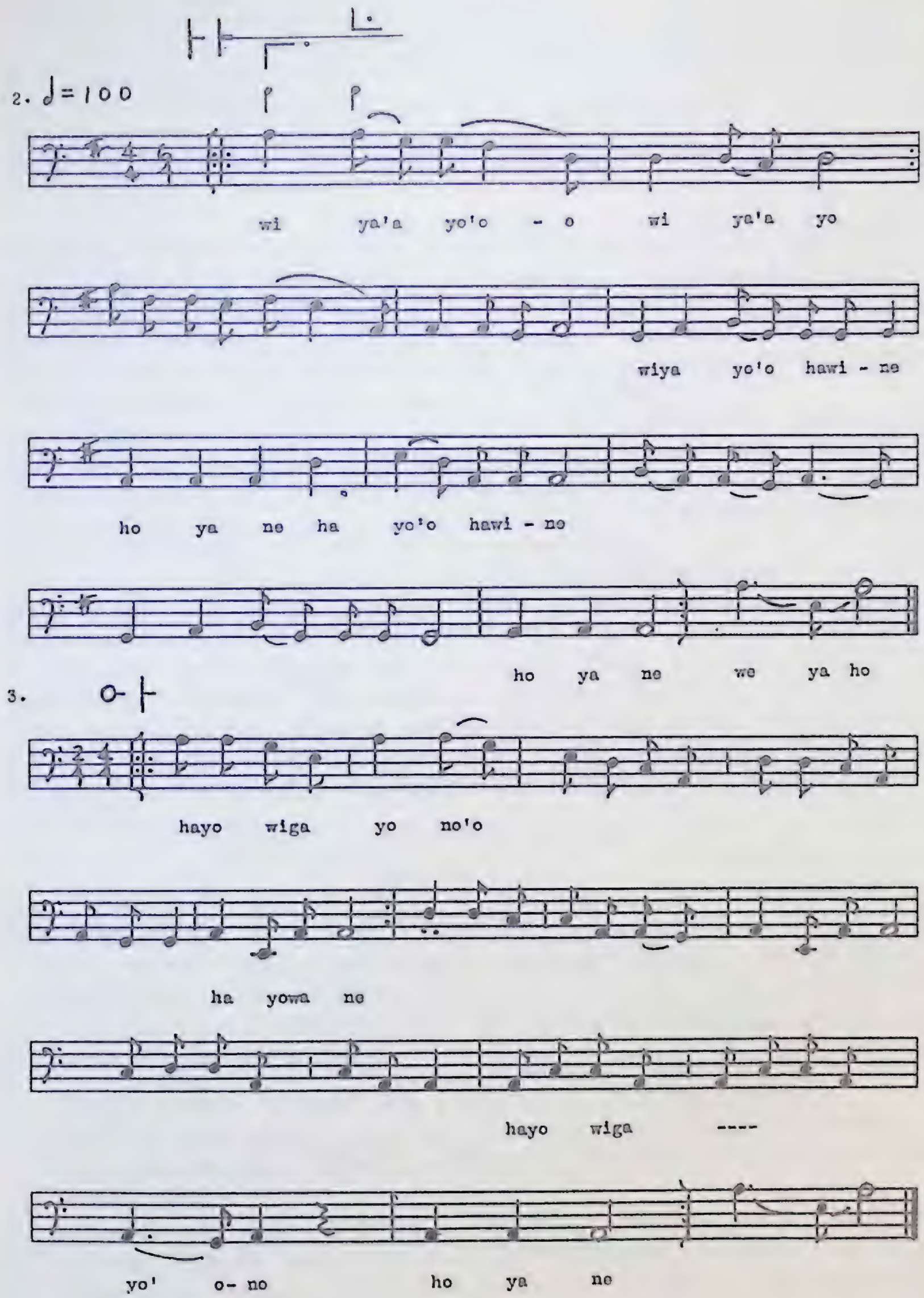


FIGURE 55—BEAN DANCE SONGS. TROTTING DANCE follows

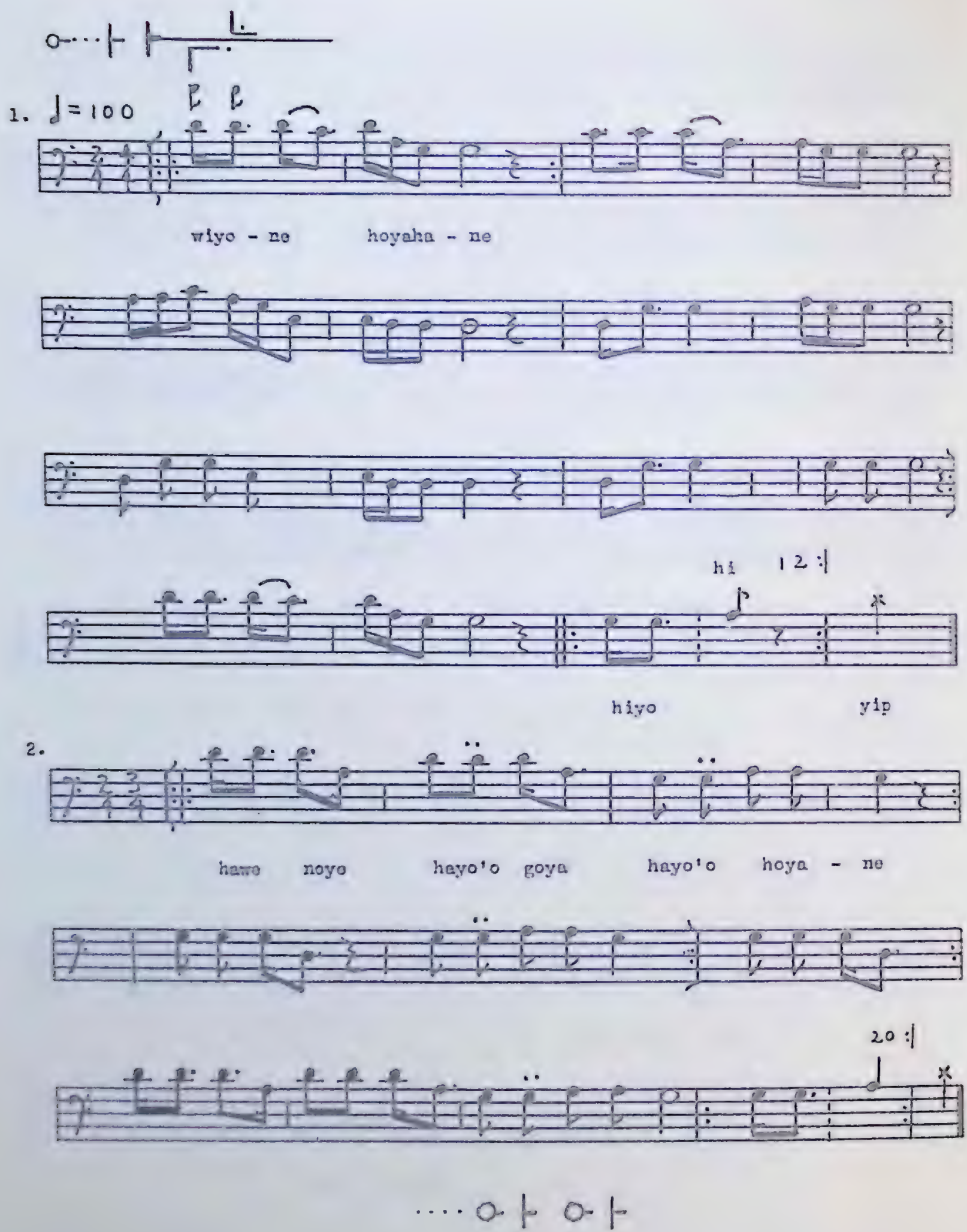


FIGURE 56—SHAKING-A-SQUASH DANCE. Terminal antiphony

CHAPTER EIGHT

Social Dances

The so-called 'social' dances do not resemble social dances of White culture, either in function or in form. In the native dances, the sociable and the religious connotations are interwoven. Many dances probably served as rituals for animals or birds. Some of them may have doubled as medicine or agricultural rites. Evenings of social dances follow the large ceremonies. Social Longhouse gatherings on Sunday evenings start with a benediction.

The order of events is arbitrary. The moieties take turns in proposing a dance from the roster of agricultural rounds and thirteen secular rounds. The secular rounds are all collective; both men and women dance either in single file or in double file. Though some secular rounds have a simple ground plan they tend to be more elaborate than the sacred dances.

Social dances can be classified, according to the basic step, into Stomp type and Fish type dances. The Stomp type includes Fishing, Robin, Pigeon, Duck, Alligator, Cherokee, Garters, and Shaking-a-Bush dances. The Fish type includes Fish, Raccoon, Chicken, Sharpening-a-Stick, and Choose-a-Partner dances. Duck, Garters, Fish, Raccoon, and Cherokee are the most popular dances at Soursprings, but all of them except Robin, Alligator, and Choose-a-Partner are in the active repertoires of singers and dancers. The three exceptions have, however, been recorded in New York State (Kurath, 1963: 247, 252, 253).

STOMP TYPE

Fishing Dance

There are two introductory songs, by two male singers on a central bench. Women who stand next to the bench sing with the men. During the two dance songs by the men, the women and a group of male dancers go through the following motions (Figure 58):

A. Women balance in place, with a step-brush, while the men circle.
B. All the dancers stomp around the bench, the men in an outer circuit. Call. Each man snatches, 'fishes,' a woman from the inner circle, and places her in front of him.
C. Monotone antiphony, by dancers. All stomp, in alternate array of men and women. Then the women return to their stations, and the procedure starts again. The Trotting Dance may follow by merging the terminal antiphony into the initial responses of the Trotting Dance, just as for the agricultural rounds.

The songs, which are the same in all Longhouses, resemble the series of Shaking-a-Squash in rhythmic pattern and in terminal antiphony.

Robin Dance

The Robin Dance resembles Shaking-a-Squash Dance in that the men and women are separated, but its step and songs are different. The dancers step right with a sidewards stomp. In response to a call in the middle of the song they face about with three little hops, and then stomp left. The dancers may two-step from time to time. Special singers shake horn rattles.

Passenger Pigeon Dance

Two male leaders with horn rattles sing songs for the Passenger Pigeon that used to herald the spring and usher in the Maple Ceremony. Pairs of men circulate about the room. In pairs, the women fall in between the pairs of men, and the double file continues to stomp around the Longhouse without any changes in pattern. In New York State, Seneca pairs change places, but this is not so in Canada (Fenton, 1955: 5).

Duck Dance

This jolly dance is one continuous song with three melodies, and it is performed in double file to drum and rattle accompaniment. Men start the circuit, stomping forward, and then pairs of women enter between the men. The pattern relates to the melodic sections.

A. All progress forwards, in a counterclockwise direction, pairs of women alternating with pairs of men. Partners hold inside hand (the hand nearest the partner).
B. All continue counterclockwise, women stomping backwards, men stomping forwards.
C. Women run forwards clockwise, ducking under the arches formed by the men's raised arms, while the men proceed ahead. This time the women pass under one arch, as they stomp in the opposite direction from the men.
B′. All stomp counterclockwise, as in B; women stomping backwards, men stomping forwards.
A′. Women run clockwise, through several arches.
B″. Men stomp counterclockwise, women clockwise, till they meet again.
C′, B′″, and so on. This pattern continues as long as desired, until—
C′″. Women duck under an arch and are caught, while men *kwek kwek*. The pattern resembles the 'bridge' in square dances and reels.

Pigeon, Duck, and other dances have mimetic origin (Kurath, 1963: 64–67).

Alligator Dance

In this double file dance, each pair is a couple, with the man on the inside of the circle and the woman on the outside. All stomp forwards, arm in arm. At a call the man swings the woman around vigorously. Then they stomp ahead again. Special singers play a drum and a horn rattle, but a conductor utters the call.

Cherokee Snake Dance

After an introductory chant, dance leaders sing antiphonal phrases with horn-rattle accompaniment, and they stomp ahead, as in the Corn Dance. In fact, tune 4 is like a Corn Dance tune. The step, alternate array, and consistent antiphony link this dance with the Trotting Dance, but the tunes are shorter

and follow one another without pause. During the last song, the leader guides the line into a spiral which ends when he is in the centre of the floor. The coiling resembles the snake set to spring.

Only one singer, Willie John of Soursprings, could lead this dance. He visited Oklahoma years ago and brought the Cherokee variant of the Stomp back to Six Nations Reserve. He liked to conclude an evening with this spectacular formation.

Garters Dance

This is also an antiphonal stomp, but it has special features and an elaborate choreography. The procedure is —

I. *Introduction.* The male leaders line up for a song to tremolo on their horn rattles. To a second song, also without antiphony but with a duple beat, they begin to circle ahead, without any changes.

During the third song, which is antiphonal, they twice perform the same pattern as in the Trotting Dance:

A. Stomp forwards.
B. Stomp sidewards.
A. Stomp forwards.
B. Stomp sidewards.
A. Stomp forwards.

II. In the remaining antiphonal songs, part A recurs four times and part B three times, with the following dance pattern, performed first by paired men only—

A. Stomp forwards.
B. Stomp sidewards.
A′. Stomp forwards.
B′. Every second man faces about and changes places with his vis-à-vis.
A″. Circuit, the odd men stomping backwards.
B″. Cross back to original place.
A′″. Circuit as in A″ but with the current pairing.

III. Pairs of women enter between pairs of men, and all perform the same patterns as in part II, but with cross-overs between male and female, as shown in the diagrams (*see* Figure 66).

Shaking-a-Bush Dance

Shaking-a-Bush Dance resembles the Garters Dance, but with several differences. The women sing the introductory songs; then special singers drum and rattle for non-antiphonal tunes. The final complete pattern is—

A. All stomp forwards, double file, female and male pairs alternating.
B. Pairs of women stomp backwards, men continue forwards.
A′. Face-to-face pairs change places.
B′. All stomp forwards, with occasional hop-kicks as desired.

FISH TYPE

The Fish type dances are characterized by the fish-step during part B and by the cross-over during the repeat of part A. The Fish Dance proper represents the paradigm, and the remaining four dances elaborate on this theme. All the dances use drum and horn-rattle accompaniment.

Fish Dance

During the first song, men pair up by moiety alternation in single file. Thereafter, a woman entering the rink invites a 'cousin' to pair up with her. The women step in between the pairs of men, as in Garters Dance III. The pattern for all songs is—

A. To halftime beat, all saunter in a counterclockwise direction.
A. To duple beat, continue, with a pat-step.
B. Partners (even and odd dancers) are face-to-face, and they do the fish-step (*see* Figure 10).
A′. Partners change places with a light walk, as in the Garters Dance.
B′. In place, face-to-face, all fish-step.

In the next song, the cross-over brings everyone back to his original place. The singers may select some six or eight songs from their repertoire. Some songs are old, and some are new compositions resembling the new Women's Shuffle Dance songs (Chapter 10). There may be six or eight singers on two benches, and all except the leader shake horn rattles. Each leader has a special repertoire, but the helpers know the songs or they learn them instantaneously.

The examples in Figure 69 indicate a conservative trend in 1963, from the rhapsodic style of 1941, back to the older style.

Raccoon Dance

The songs in part I are traditional, but the repertoire in part II varies, and the selection of songs varies with the occasion.

I. Men sing and dance.

Song 1, introductory chant, with tremolo.
Song 2, with slow beat, circuit with step-kick.
Song 3, stomp and cross-overs as follows, in fast tempo—
A. All stomp ahead.
B. Odds in pairs stomp backwards.
A′. Cross with partner.
B′. Stomp ahead.

II. Men and women, in fish-step.

Each song and its dance follow the same pattern as in Fish Dance. At the end of the final song the leader yelps like a raccoon.

Chicken Dance

The distinguishing features of this dance are —

I. Women next to the singers' bench start by singing the introduction.
II. To the first dance song, women do the *enskanye* step in pairs, and they change places as in Fish Dance, always in single file.

III. Men enter, alternating with the women; they pair up and Fish Dance. In the end a matron crows like a rooster.

SHARPENING-A-STICK DANCE

This dance is like the Fish Dance, but with different songs and with a sharper heel accent on each second beat.

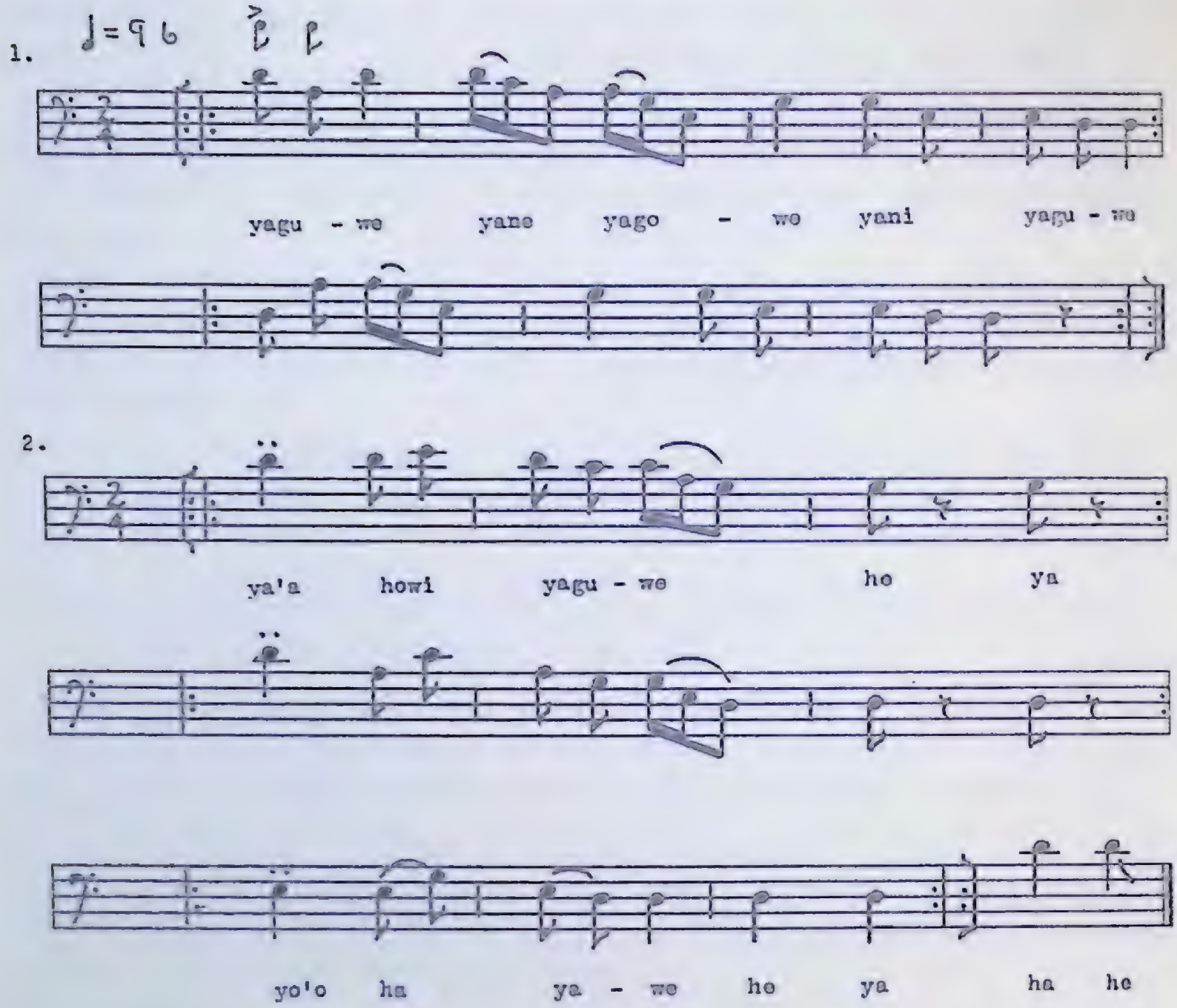


FIGURE 57—FISHING DANCE

Introductory chants by special male singers and by female chorus

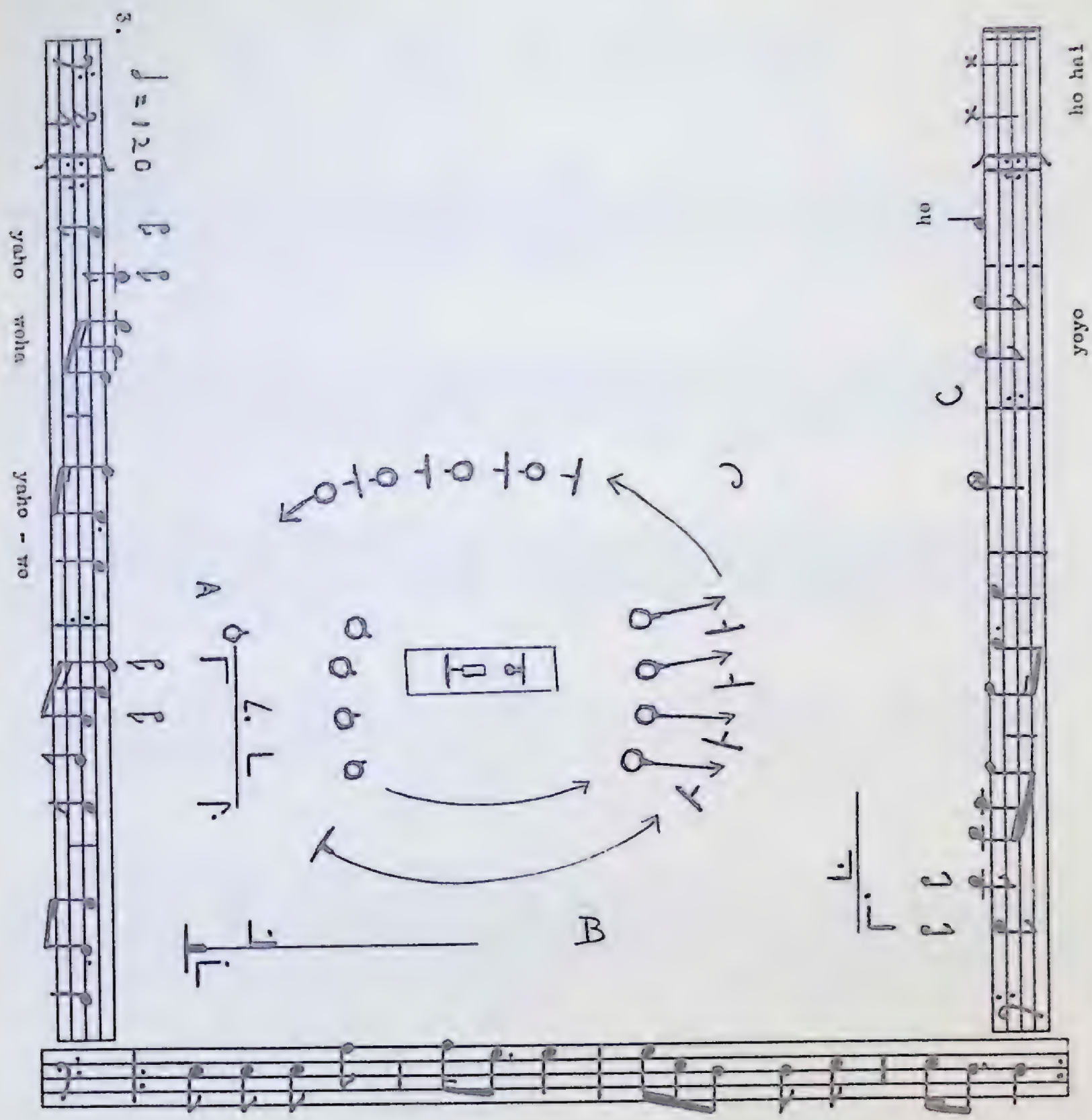


FIGURE 58—FISHING DANCE, for both men and women. Songs by two men.

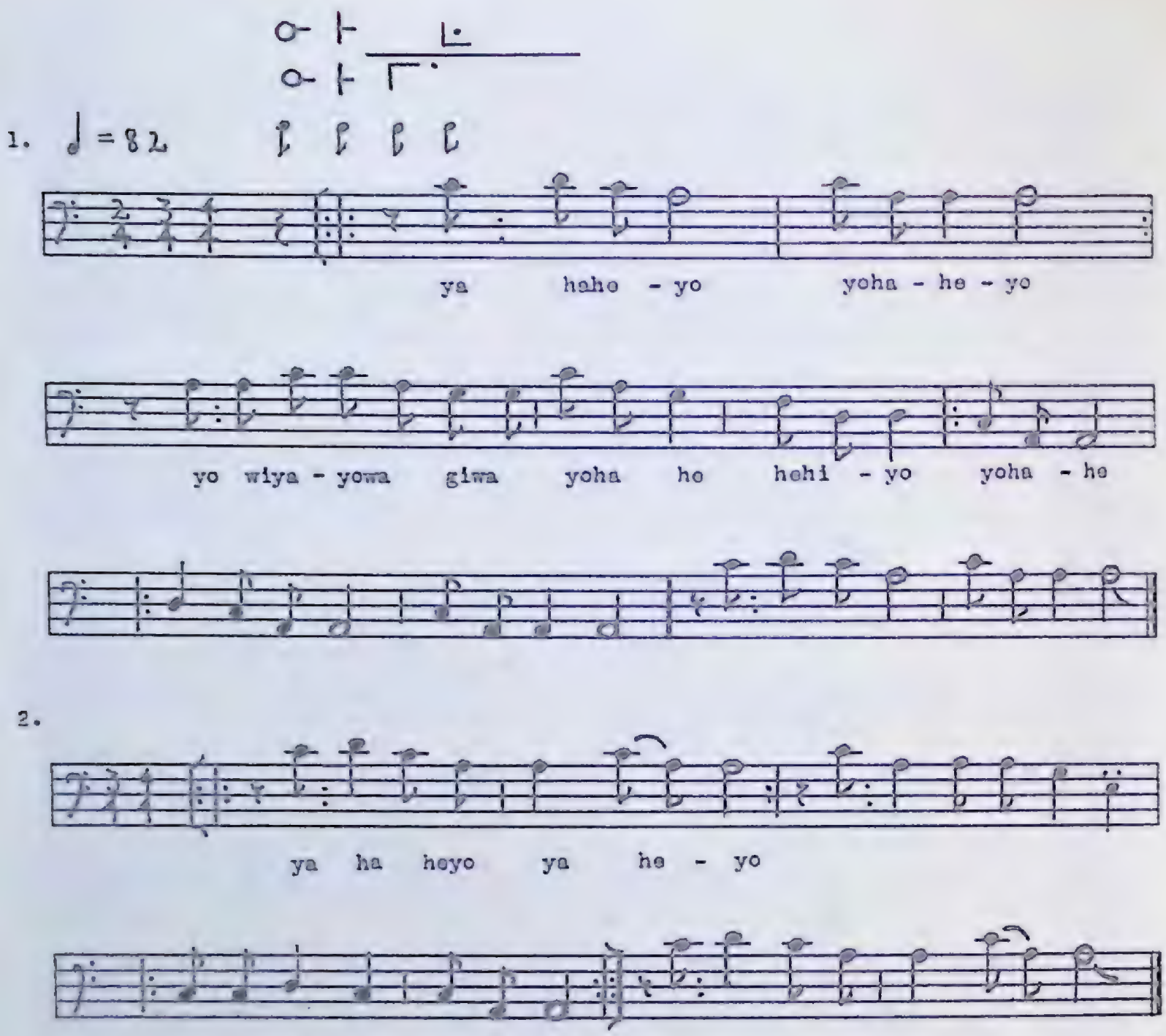


FIGURE 59—PASSENGER PIGEON DANCE

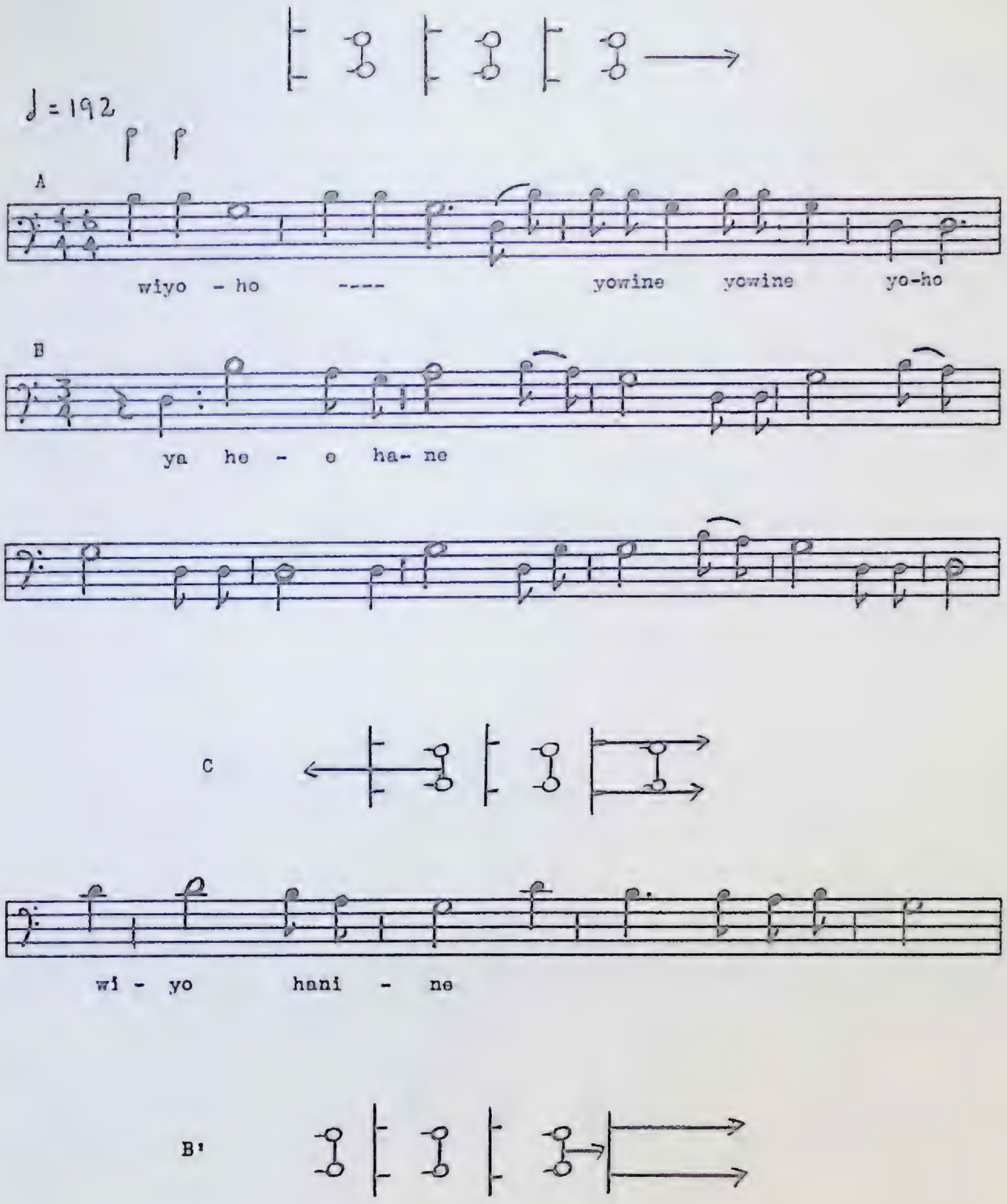


FIGURE 60—DUCK DANCE

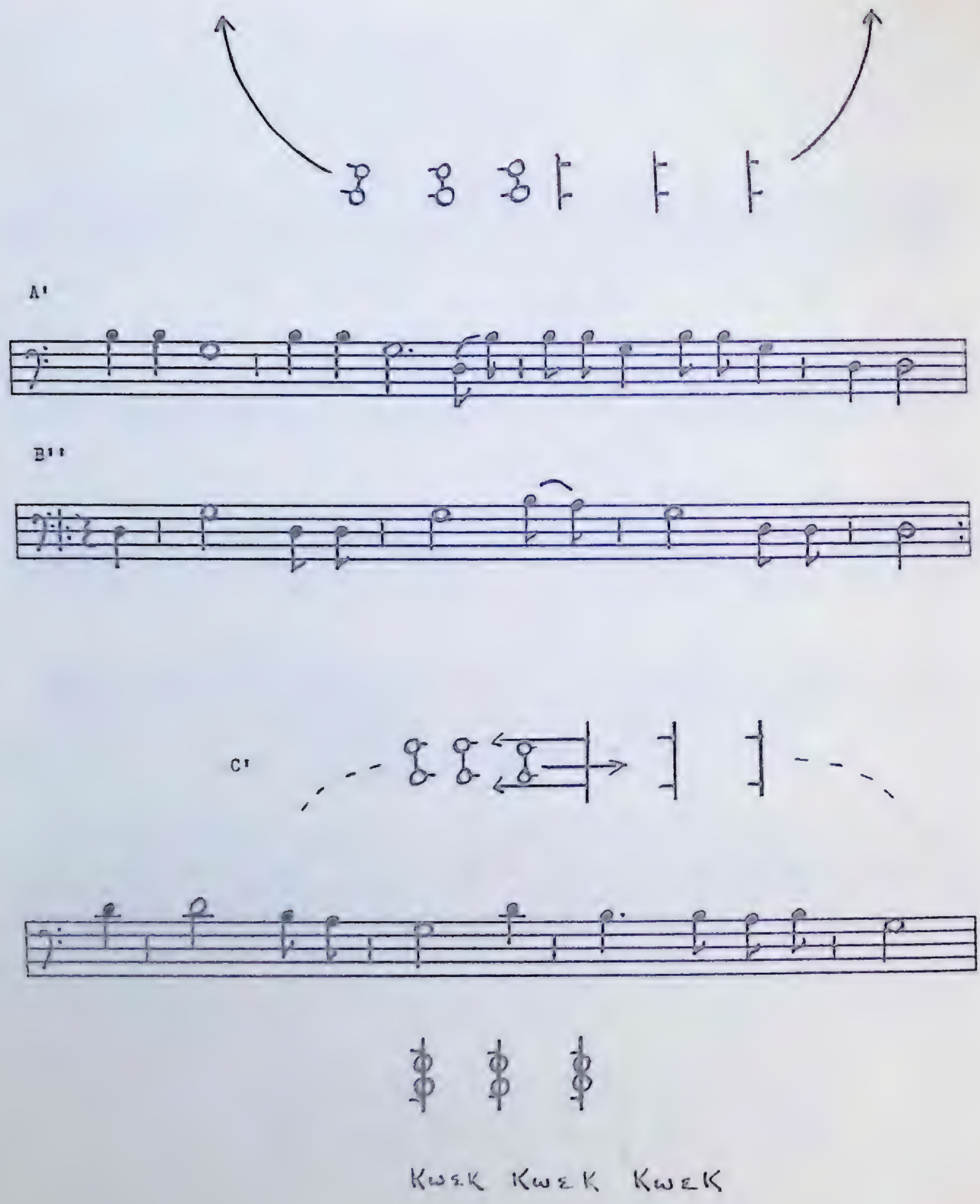


FIGURE 61—DUCK DANCE (cont.)

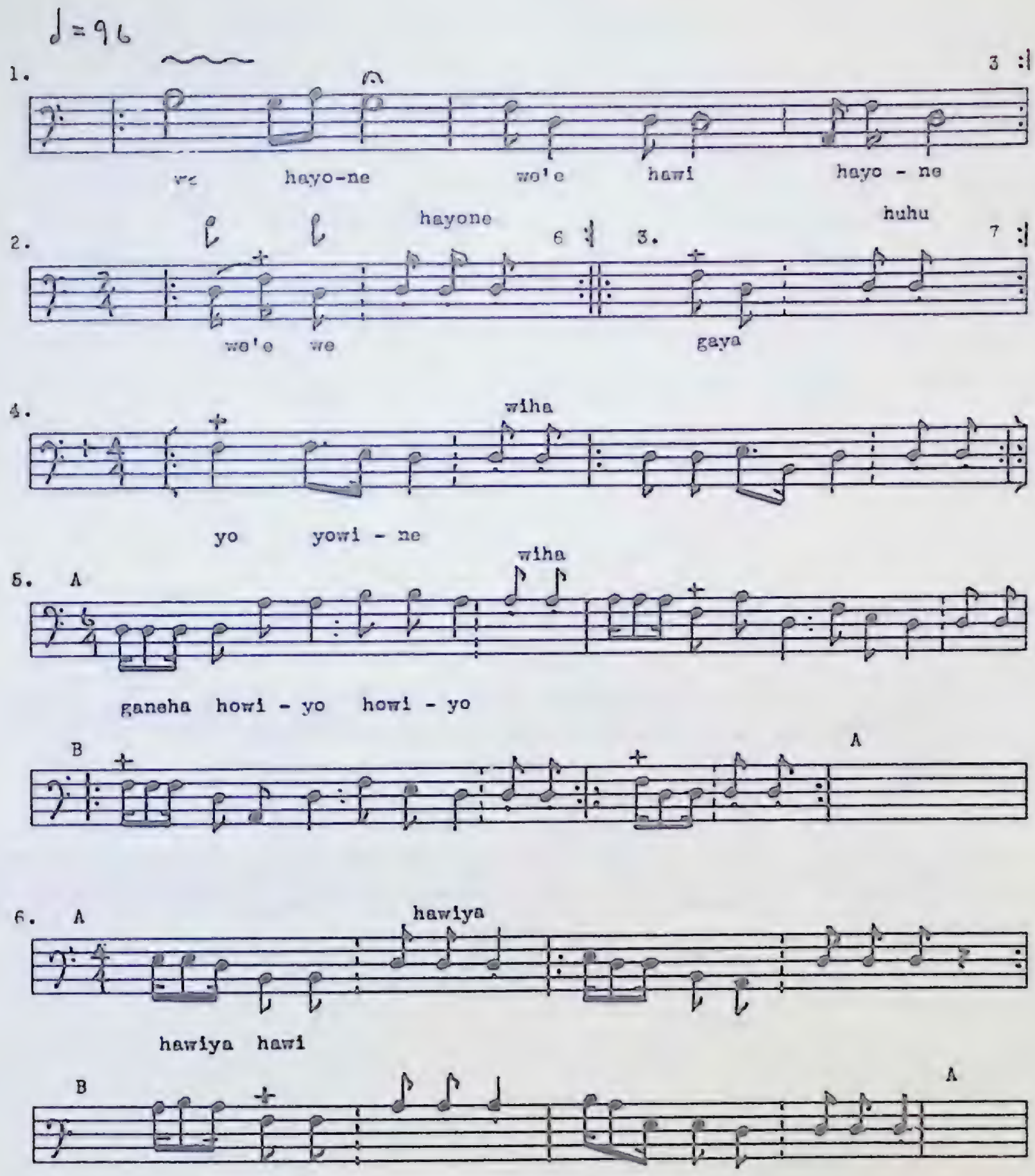
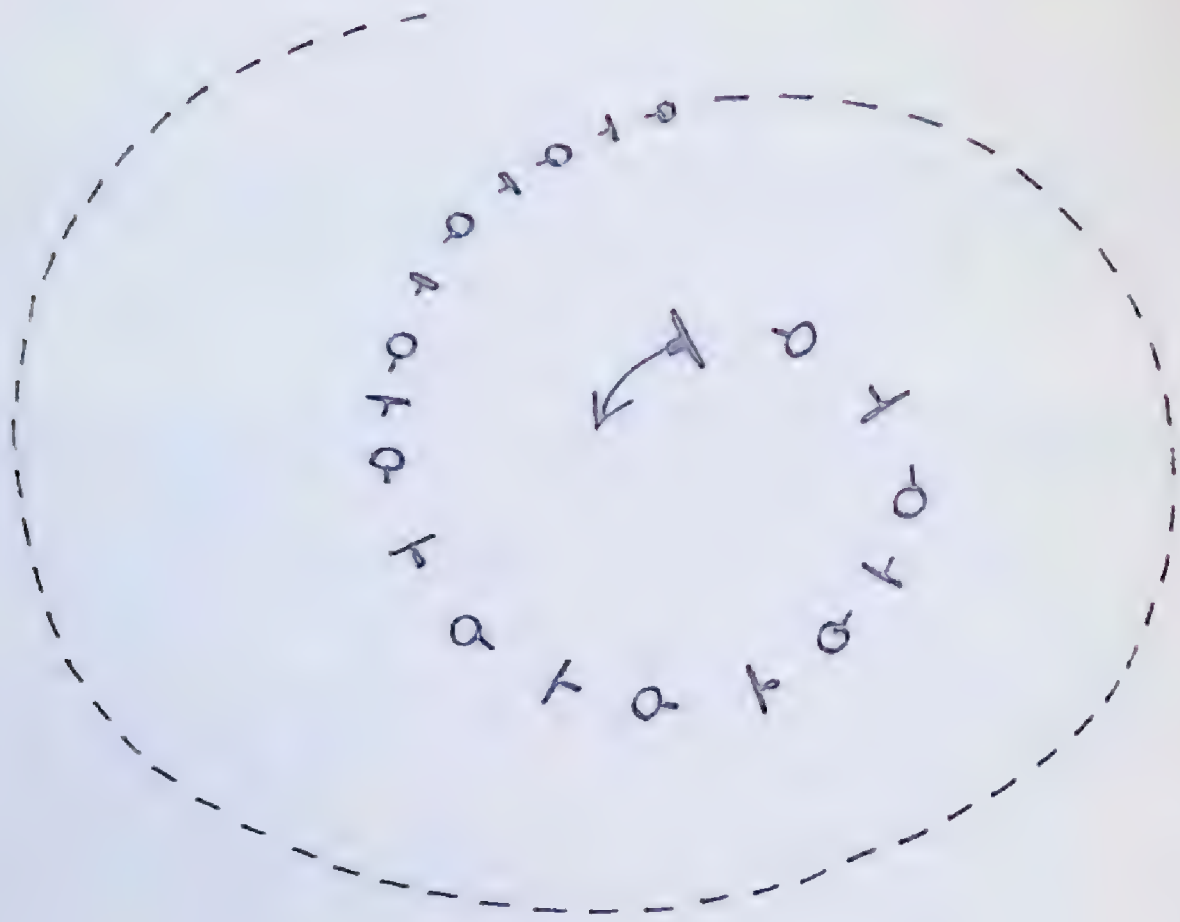


FIGURE 62—CHEROKEE STOMP DANCE



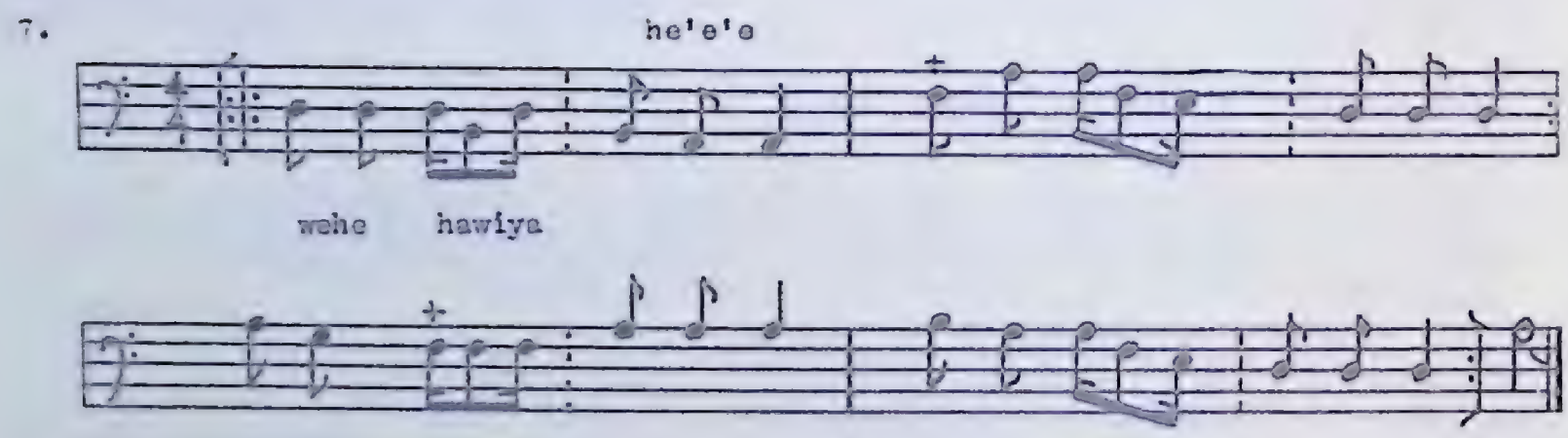


FIGURE 63—CHEROKEE STOMP, final spiral

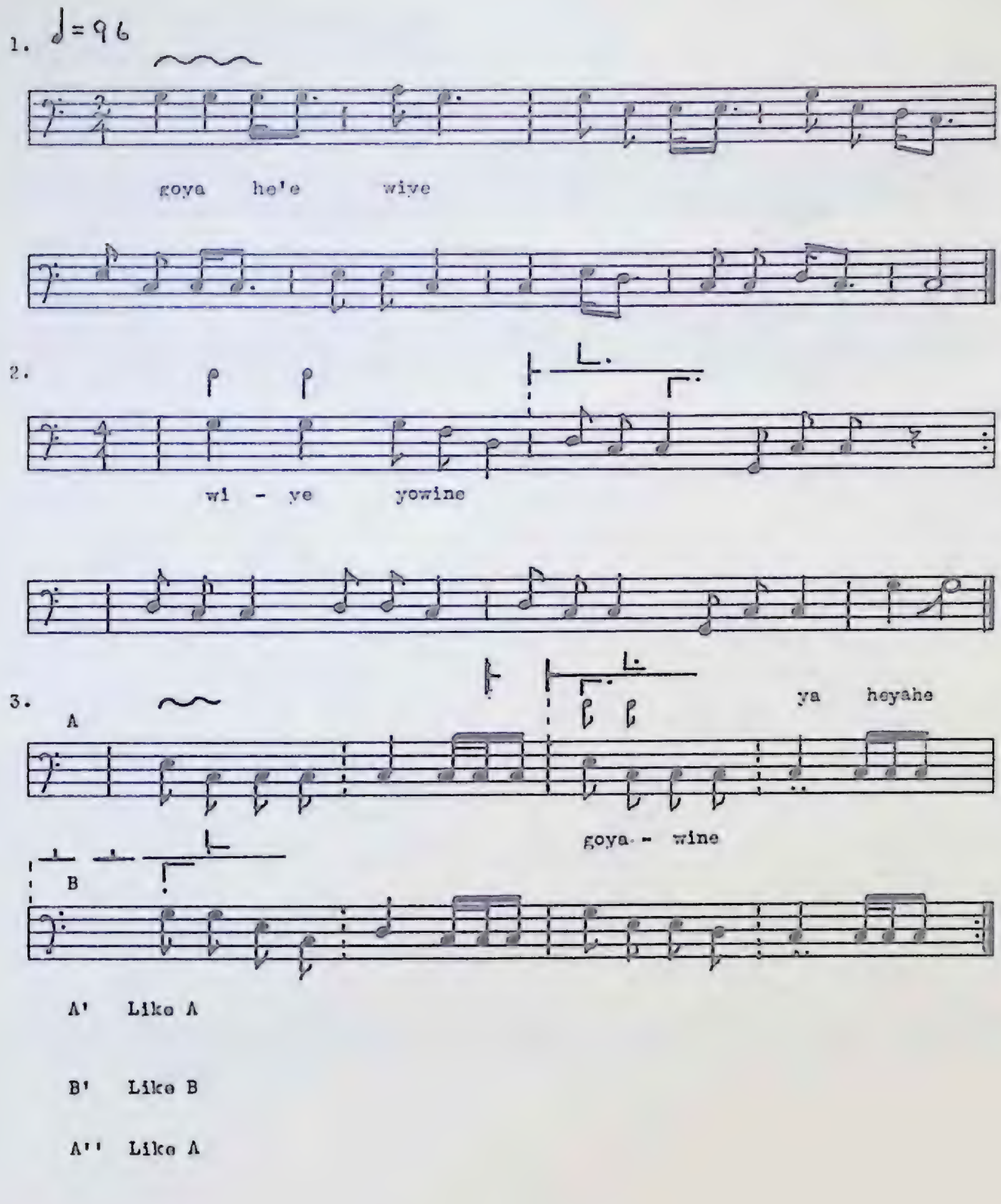


FIGURE 64—GARTERS DANCE, Part I

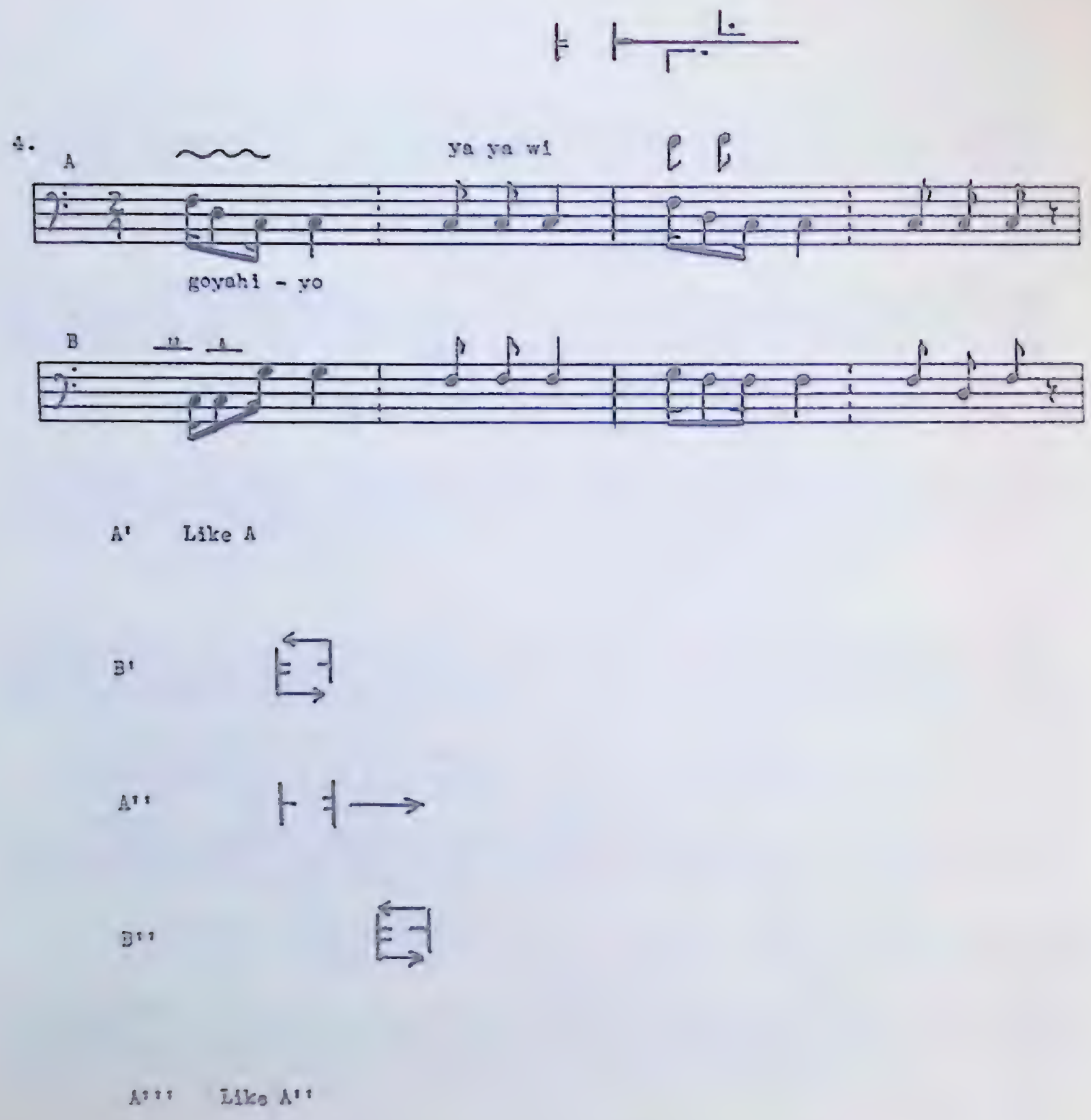


FIGURE 65—GARTERS DANCE, Part II

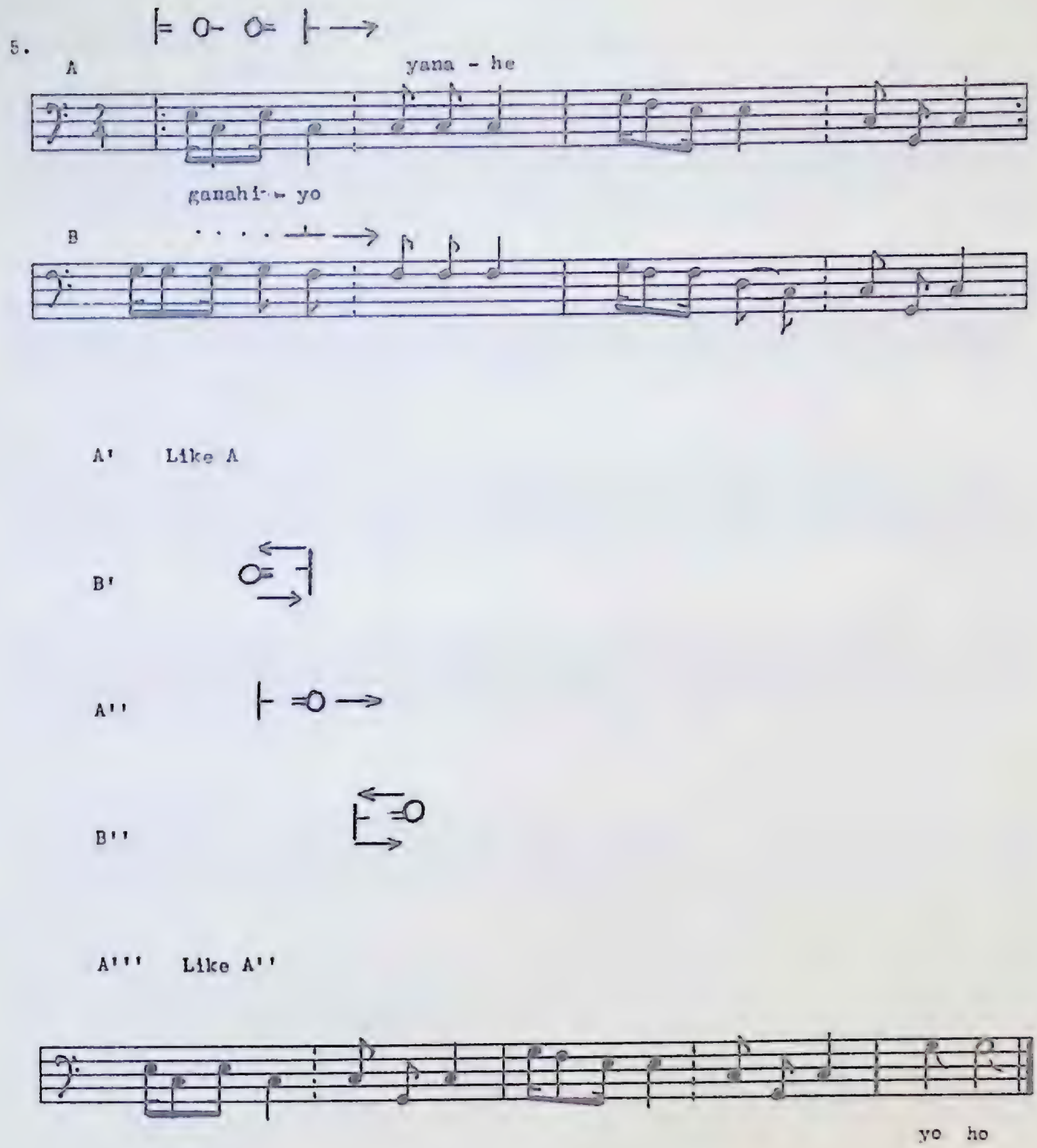


FIGURE 66—GARTERS DANCE, Part III

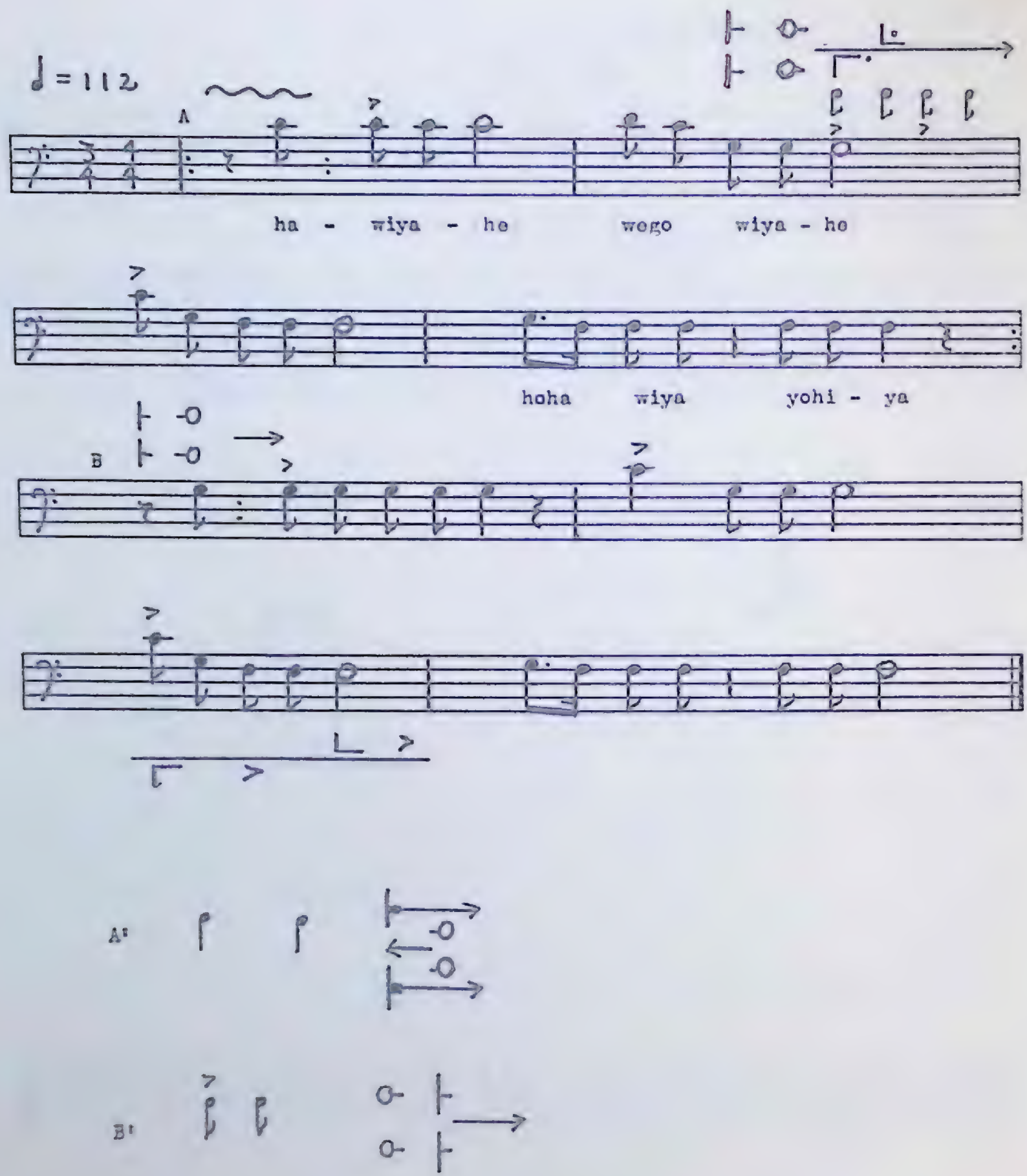


FIGURE 67—SHAKING-THE-BUSH DANCE

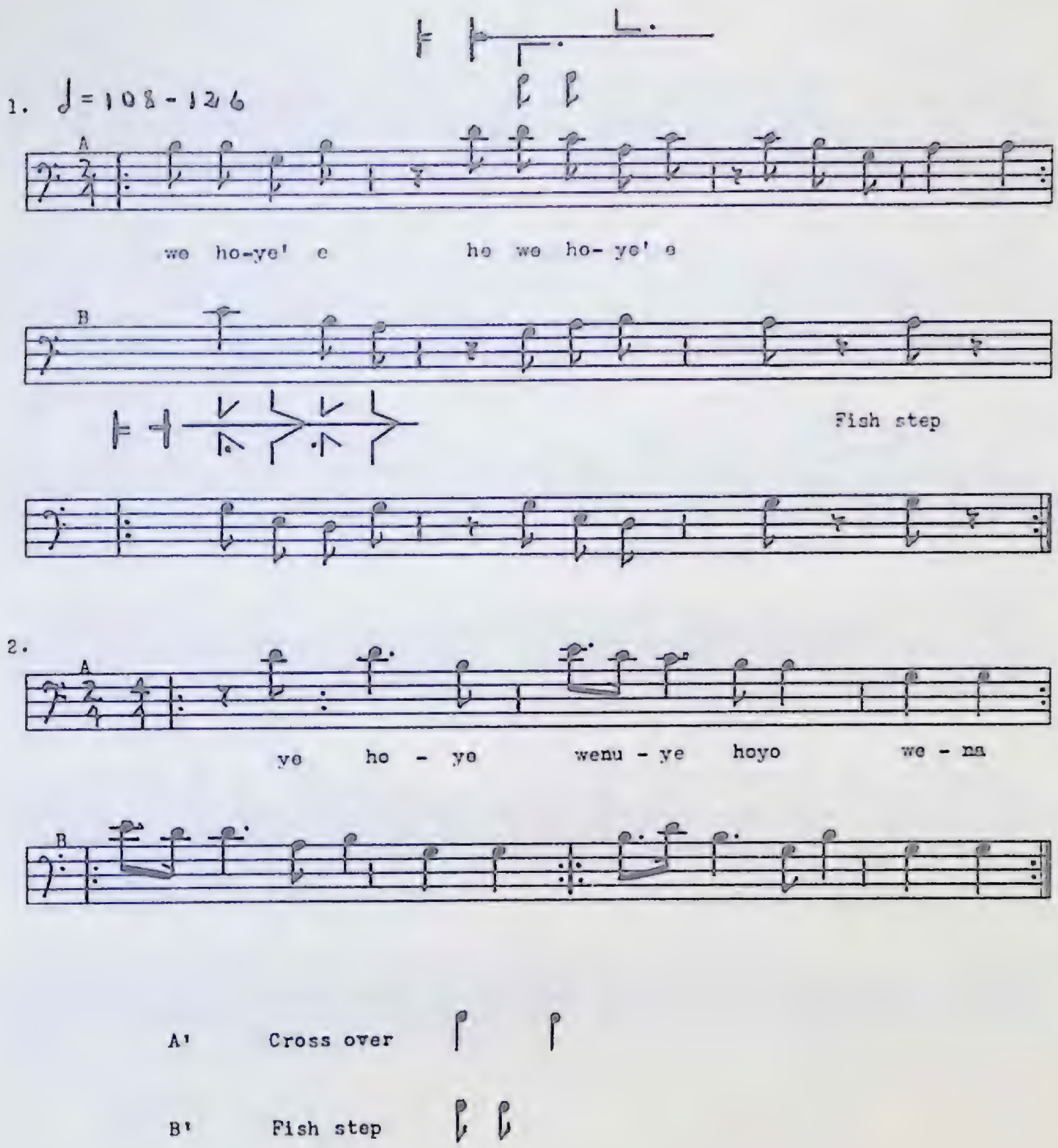


FIGURE 68—FISH DANCE, old time songs

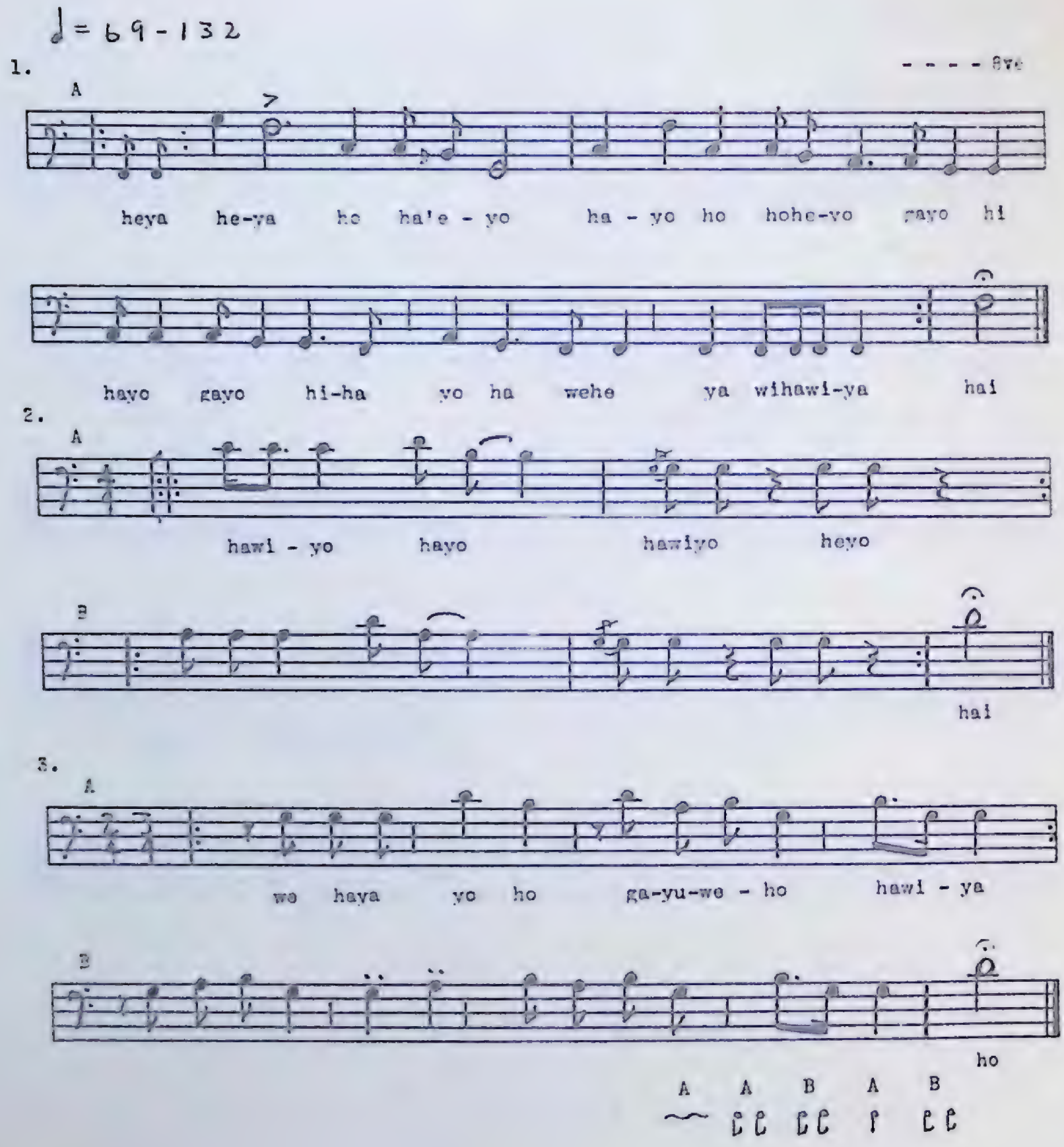


FIGURE 69—FISH DANCE, new songs—1. George Buck, 1941
2. Roy Buck, 1963
3. Gordie Buck, 1963

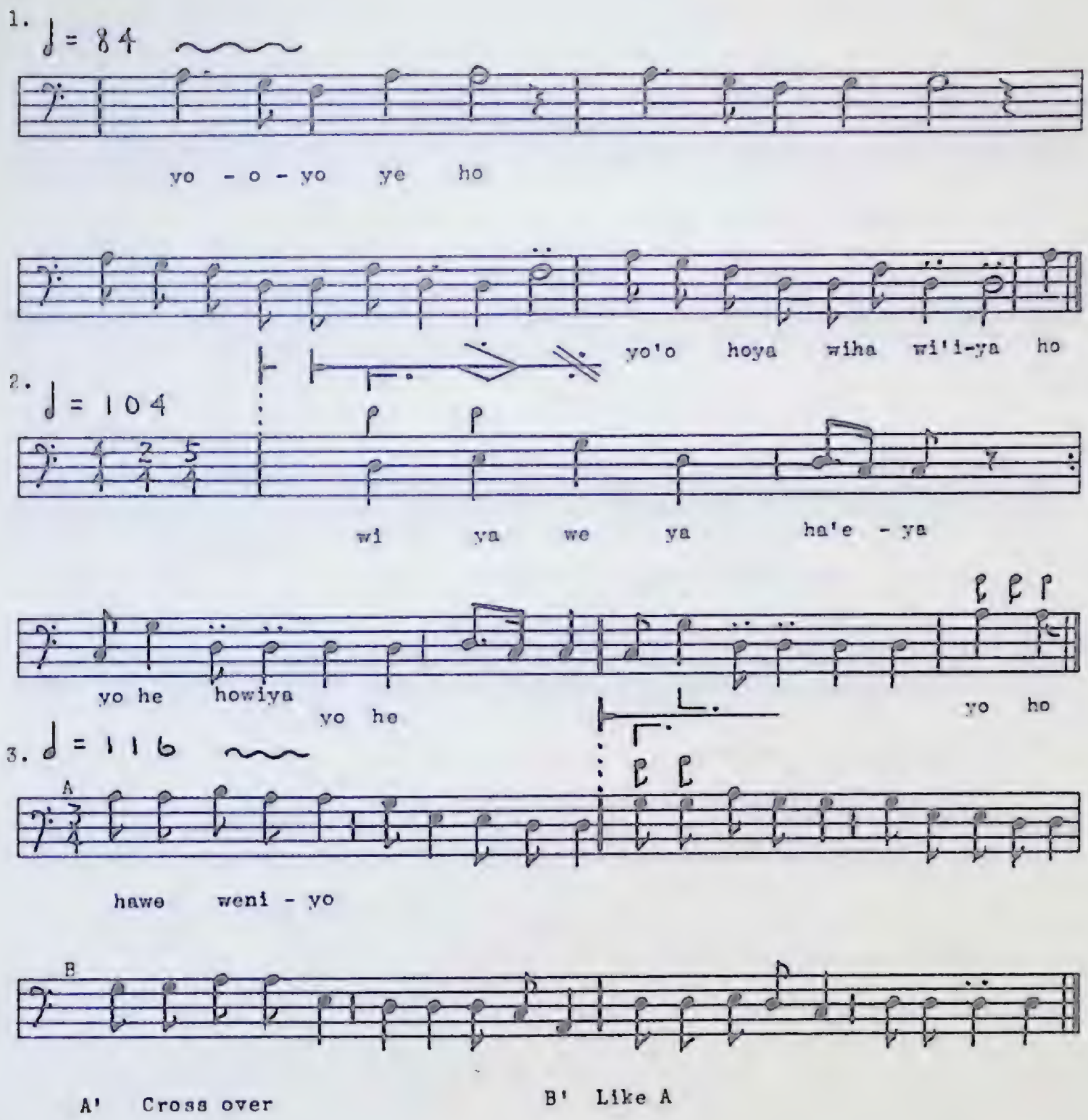


FIGURE 70—RACCOON DANCE, Part I

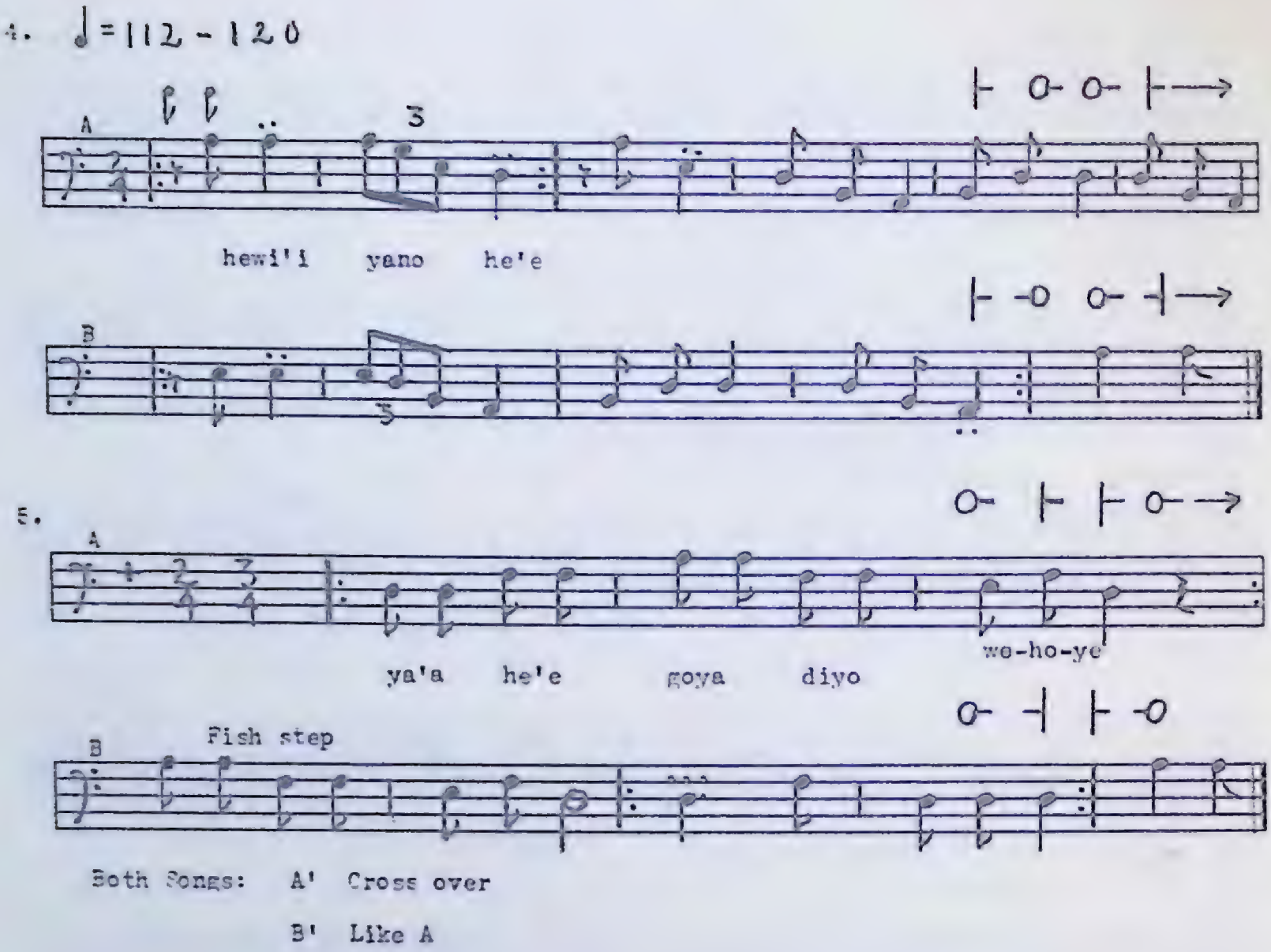


FIGURE 71 RACCOON DANCE, Part II

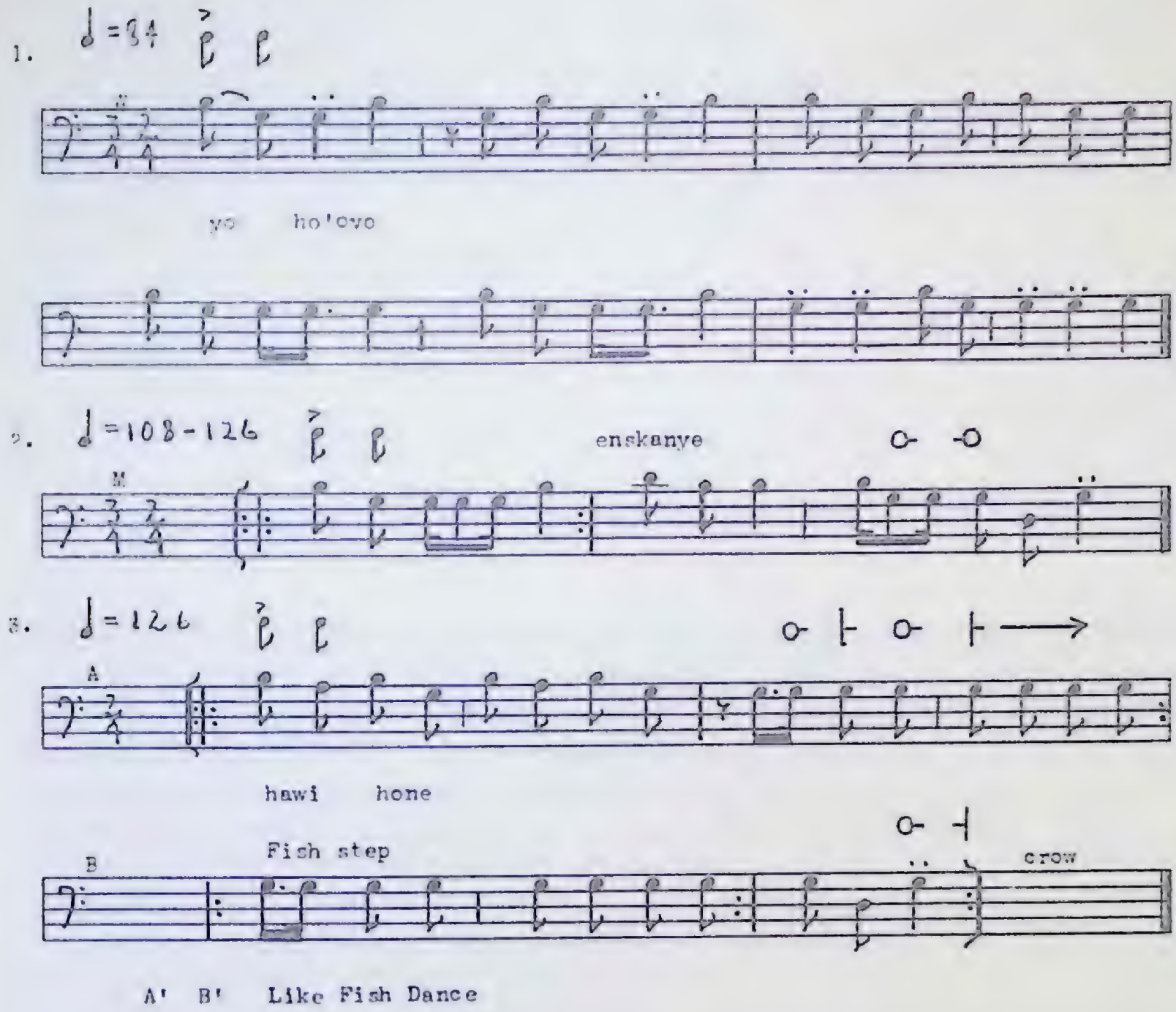


FIGURE 72—CHICKEN DANCE

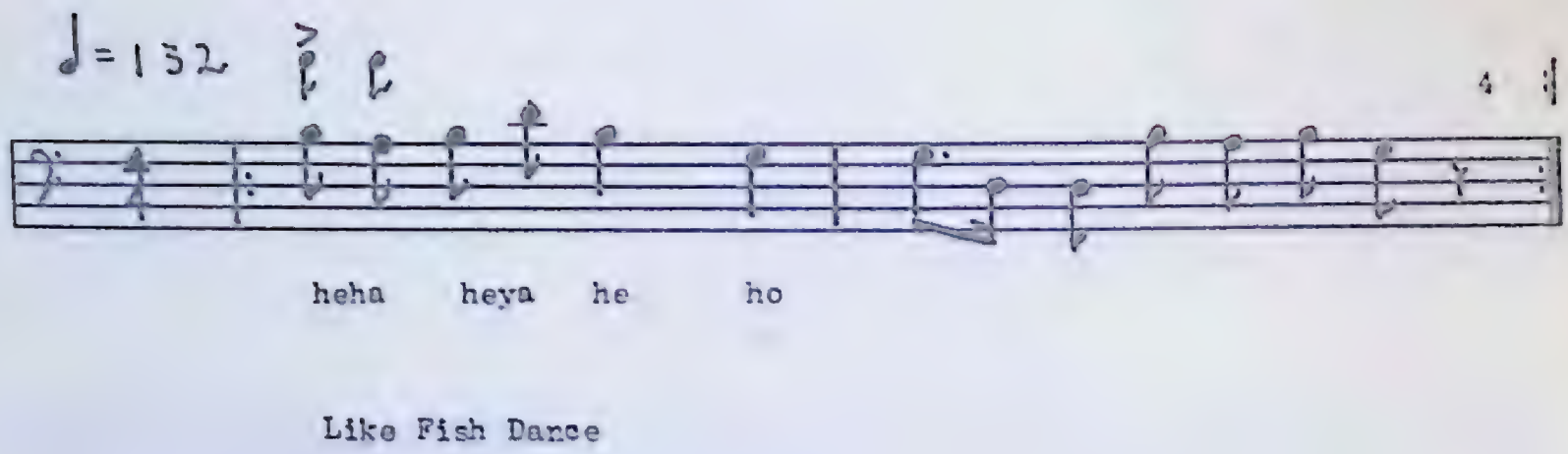


FIGURE 73—SHARPENING-A-STICK DANCE

PART IV:

TRADITIONAL STYLE AND VARIATIONS

Iroquois dances combine sameness with infinite variety. The counterclockwise circle is a recurrent pattern, but often the circle breaks up into smaller groupings. The arrangement of performers varies according to dance types. A few dances use other formations. The common stomp step rarely continues without changes through a suite. Stomps alternate with other steps.

Dance accompaniment combines song and several kinds of percussion instruments. Although the instruments have a subdued timbre, except for the turtle rattle, traditionally the men's voices are resonant and the women's are meek. The several devices for the entrance of the voices, either outside or within the dance line, include unison, echo, and antiphony.

Certain basic qualities recur in melody and percussion: tempo, rhythm, volume, melodic themes and scales, and, as an overall unifying factor, the structure. Specific qualities adhere to the dance types. Yet within the regulations certain creative variants are permissible.

The dances and their songs exhibit variety within unity. Each suite combines choreographic and musical elements in a different way. Within a suite no two songs are exactly alike except for certain 'paired' songs. The present examination will correlate the dance and music elements as much as possible.

CHAPTER NINE

Dance, Percussion, and Melody

Dance and accompaniment involve space, time, and melody. Dance moves in space, and song moves in tone. Primarily, percussion instruments mark time, and thus they tie together dance and song. The dancers always follow the percussion beat, and the singers fit their tempo to that of the instruments.

INSTRUMENTS

The instruments include drums and rattles for special singers, and rattles and other devices for self-accompaniment: the Iroquois use no melodic instruments such as flutes. The construction and manipulation of the instruments are important and have been described at length by Conklin and Sturtevant (1953), Speck (1955: 77–82), Einhorn (1961), Spittal (1961), Moeser (1963), and other writers. The function of the instruments in the dance will receive emphasis in this chapter.

Each choreography has mentioned the instruments and the position of the singers. In summary, the most frequent accompaniment is performed by special singers playing water drums and one or several steer-horn rattles. If the bench on which the special singers sit is in the centre of the floor, the men usually straddle the bench, face-to-face. If it is set by a wall, they sit next to each other, facing the spectators. The drummer holds his instrument aslant on his left thigh and produces a soft, rhythmic beat with a small carved stick held in his right hand. The rattle player produces a rustling rebound by striking the rattle against his left thigh. The special singers beat a larger drum only for the *ohgiwe* Death Feast.

The horn rattle is portable enough for self-accompaniment (*see* Figure 89). When the two dance leaders are also the chief singers, they strike the rattles against the palm of the left hand. Often they accent every second beat. Automatically they synchronize their steps with the rattle pulsation. The other dancers keep perfect time with the leaders. Whereas drummers can tune their instruments to fit the main tone of their song, the players of other instruments such as the rattle cannot do this as their instruments have a constant pitch.

Two kinds of turtle rattles serve in self-accompanied song. Huge snapping turtles are used by special singers who beat them at an angle on the bench resonator, or they may shake them in self-accompaniment. When used for shaking, the rattles may be of two sizes (*see* Figure 91). The tortoise-shell rattle, a rare instrument, belongs exclusively to a women's rite. It is held in the palm of the right hand.

Gourd rattles accompany the songs in an esoteric Shaman's rite. In the Longhouse festivals, the only gourds are the small, feather-ornamented rattles of the Eagle Dancers. Each youth shakes a gourd in his right hand, without striking any part of his body.

Noisemakers fastened to clothing or parts of the body are potential self-accompaniment. However, they are rare in Iroquois ceremonies. Hoof rattles used to adorn men's knee bands, especially in the Garters Dance. They are now an obsolescent ornament in the Feather Dance costume. Sleigh bells, which are indispensable to Oklahoma dancers, appear only in shows.

The body itself produces rhythmic sounds. The women clap in the *adonwe* ritual; the dancers' shuffling feet provide the only accompaniment to the Trotting Dance songs.

INSTRUMENTS USED IN DANCES

Water Drum and Horn Rattle
Dances:
- Bear
- Buffalo
- War
- Striking-a-Stick
- Eagle
- Drum
- Women's Shuffle
- Four Nights
- Shaking-a-Squash
- Fishing
- Duck
- Alligator
- Shaking-a-Bush
- All Fish Type Dances

Large Drum
- Dance for the Dead

Two Horn Rattles, Self-accompaniment
Dances:
- Corn
- Bean
- Robin
- Pigeon
- Garters
- Cherokee Stomp

Turtle Shell
Dances:
- False Face
- Feather
- Women Planters

Gourd Rattle
- Shaman's Rite (not choreographed)
- Eagle Dances

Special Noisemakers
- Hoof Garters – Feather and Drum, sometimes

Paddle – Husk Faces
Cane – False Faces, Husk Faces
Broom Stick – Women Planters, sometimes
Clapping – Individual Chant
Foot Shuffle – Trotting
Dancers' Feet Stamping on the Floor – many dances

TEMPO

In the choreographies the steps appear next to the percussion beat because they always follow this beat, no matter how the song relates to the instrument. Usually the tempo is the same for the three constituents. In the False Face Round, rattle and voice are sometimes in different tempi. In other dances, the drum and rattle beat may lag slightly behind the voice, though the basic tempo is identical. If the drum syncopates the melody, the steps adhere to the percussion. When the instrument produces a tremolo, the dancers saunter arhythmically.

The following is a list of the tempi ranging from fast to slow. The metronome numbers represent the speed of a metronome during two eighth notes of the melodic and percussion notation. The numbers represent typical songs in suites where dance, instrument, and voice have the same tempo. The list is very summary.

TYPICAL TEMPI IN DANCES:

1. Fast – Husk Face, 144, 168 mm.
   Fast, accelerating—
   - Feather, 120–144 or 104–168
   - Fish Type, 108–126 or 69–132
   - New Women's Shuffle, 88–138 or 80–126
2. Medium, accelerating—
   - Drum, 112–120
   - Old Women's Shuffle, 104–116

   Medium, steady—
   - Striking-a-Stick, 112
   - Trotting, 112
   - Shaking-a-Squash, 100
   - Garters, 96
   - Bear, 96
   - Cherokee, 96
   - Fishing, 96
   - Corn, 88
   - Pigeon, 82
3. Dance half-time, music fast to medium—
   - False Face, 136
   - War, 112
   - Buffalo, 112
4. Dance half-time, music slow—
   - Eagle, 112

Women Planters, 108
Bean, 100
Dance for the Dead, 96
Individual Chant, 92

Some rituals, such as False Face and Four Nights, contain several kinds of tempo. Some dances, such as Bear and Dance for the Dead, build up in tempo, that is, they accelerate.

RHYTHM

The rhythms are the finer configurations within time. The three components may differ in rhythm. The instruments usually hold to a simple rhythm for a particular song or song part; elaborations are rare. Typically, the dance steps adhere to the instrumental rhythm as well as to the tempo. Sometimes dance steps are in cut-time or double-time in relation to the percussion rhythms, as will be demonstrated. The melodic rhythms are almost never identical with the instrumental rhythms. Melodic rhythms can become quite elaborate; the steps do not adjust to these elaborations.

Instrumental Rhythms

The basic rhythms are—

1. Fast iambic; Feather Dance.
2. Fast or medium duple beat in eighth notes, unaccented; Bear, Corn, Fishing, Garters, Cherokee, Pigeon, and other dances.
3. Duple beat, accented; Buffalo, False Face, War, Striking-a-Stick, *enskanye*, Drum, and Fish type dances.
4. Slow, in quarter notes, synchronized with voice; Eagle, Feather (parts), Bean, Duck, and first Raccoon dances.
5. Quarter notes, syncopated with voice; Husk Face, Dance for the Dead, and Fish (part) dances.
6. Tremolo; chants, introductions of many songs. Not strictly a rhythm but a function of rhythm.

In some dances, notably the stomp type, the rhythm remains unchanged throughout the song. In some suites each song has two or more kinds of beat. In the Feather Dance the relationship to the song parts is flexible. In the Eagle and in Fish type dances the changes are well defined and fitted to distinct parts of the melody. Music-dance integration will be illustrated under 'Structure.' In the Eagle Dance the pattern in the song's part B is unique. After a series of slow beats, three double-time beats synchronize instruments, dance movement, and melody in the final cadence.

When the steps follow an alternately accented beat, usually the accents synchronize, as is the case in the War Dance and the Women's Shuffle Dance. In the Fish-type step, the accents are opposed; that is, the instruments accent odd beats, and the feet accent even beats.

Under 'Tempo' several dances are listed as half-time. In the False Face and War dances the dancers jump or hop only on the odd beats. Similarly, dancers cut-time in other hop-kicks, as in the Bear Dance finale, but they conclude with fast stamps timed to the drum. Sometimes women shufflers change to half-

time jumps and then return to their on-beat fast *enskanye*. The half-time step in Buffalo, Dance for the Dead, and Robin dances is a special case. Though the step synchronizes only with the odd beats, the knees are flexed on the even beats. In the Robin Dance the occasional two-step temporarily follows the instrumental rhythm.

Melodic Rhythms

The melodies combine short rhythmic units, the most typical of which are listed (*see* Figure 74). The units are almost always combined into patterns, as they are in the last five examples. Possibilities of combination are almost unlimited, but many combinations recur within one or in several different suites. Such rhythmic combinations form phrases of varying lengths. These phrases could be equated with the variable metrical divisions.

Examples of Dance Songs Emphasizing Rhythmic Units in Figure 74

Units:
1. Dance for the Dead, Feather, Women Planters, Raccoon
2. Buffalo, False Face, Individual Chant, Drum, Bean, Garters, Pigeon, Raccoon
3. Bear, Buffalo, Eagle, Individual Chant, Drum, Fishing
4. Husk Face, Eagle, Feather, Drum, Individual Chant, Women Planters, Trotting, Cherokee Stomp, Pigeon, Scalp
5. False Face Round
6. Bear, Drum, Women's Shuffle, Corn, Trotting, Duck, Fish, Raccoon
7. False Face Round, War, Feather, Women's Shuffle, Trotting, Fishing, Shaking-a-Squash, Garters
8. Eagle, War, Drum, Trotting, Corn
9. Dance for the Dead, Feather, Bean, Raccoon
10. False Face Round, Husk Face, War, Striking-a-Stick, Old Women's Shuffle, Four Nights, Trotting, Corn, Cherokee Stomp, Garters, Chicken
11. War, Eagle, Drum, Trotting
12. Bear, War, Drum, New Women's Shuffle, Four Nights, Trotting, Shaking-a-Squash, Fishing, Garters, Cherokee, Chicken
13. Bear, False Face, Eagle, Pigeon, Fish, Raccoon
14. Bear, Striking-a-Stick
15. Buffalo, War, Feather, Drum, Corn, songs and cadences of Dance for the Dead. Pulsation is not identical with unit 1, though the time value may be similar.

The songs in the listed dances may employ various units. For instance, Buffalo Dance songs use units 2, 3, 15.

Typical Combinations of Rhythmic Units in Songs (Figure 75).

16. Bear 2, Garters 2.
17. *Enskanye* 2.
18. Shaking-a-Squash 2.
19. Four Nights (Part V).
20. Garters 5, Striking-a-Stick 1, Trotting 5, Chicken 2.

The combinations show neat organization; they are either symmetrical with the fastest unit in the centre, or progressive with preference for fast to slow

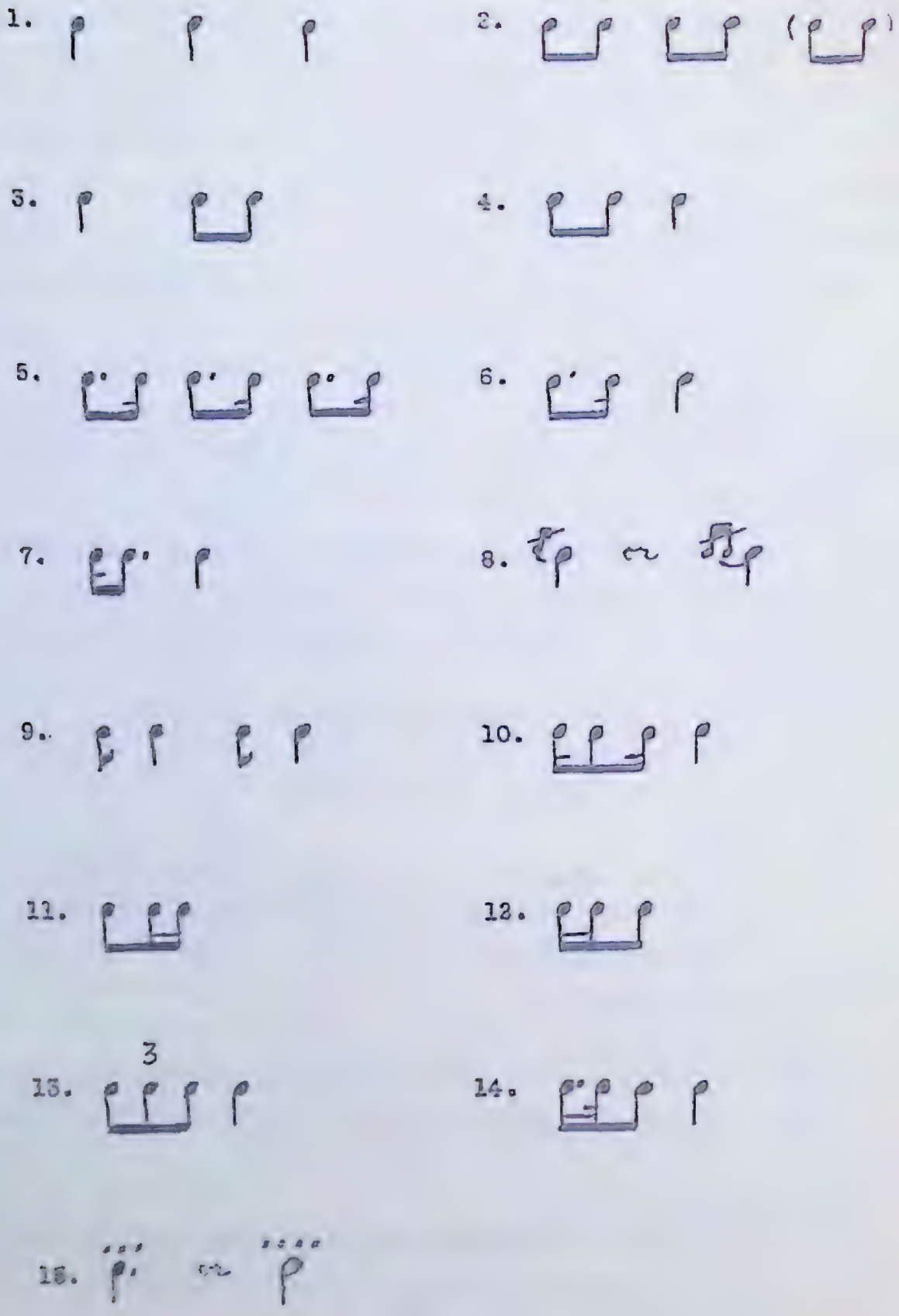


FIGURE 74—RHYTHMIC UNITS IN MELODIES

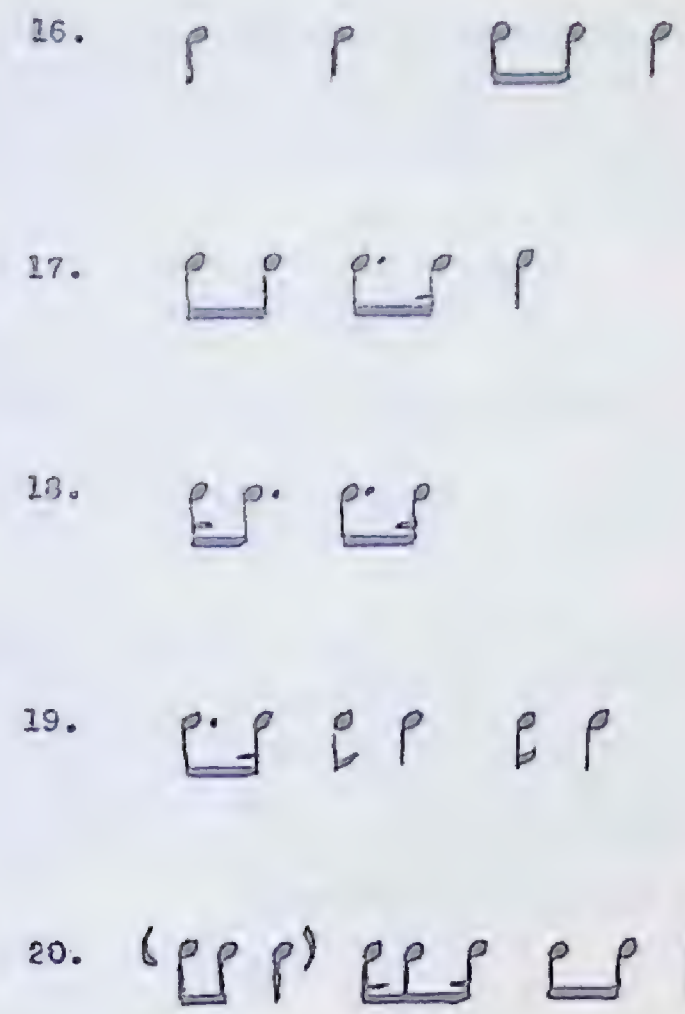


FIGURE 75—TYPICAL COMBINATIONS OF RHYTHMIC UNITS

units. Thus, a clean-cut phrase always comes to a rest at its conclusion. The lengths of the phrases vary greatly, from a single unit, as in Drum Dance and Trotting Dance, to a long, flowing combination, as in Bean Dance. A phrase constitutes a melodic theme.

TONALITY

The melodies lead an independent existence in their tonality. Each melody has a well-defined contour and scale. The contours and scales may be the same for a series of songs, or, again, they may vary.

Contour

In my terminology, contour is the pattern of rise and fall. The most common contour is a mild descent from the beginning to the end of a song, with some wavering on the way. New *enskanye* songs have steep descents. Eagle Dance songs have a more level fluctuation. Some antiphonal songs ascend in the middle and descend at the end to their original levels as seen in Trotting Dance, Corn Dance, and some terminal antiphonies.

Range and Intervals

The range in the songs varies from a monotone to eleven tones. The tones may all lie above the main tone, but they often descend below the main tone, especially in the wide-range tunes. The intervals vary greatly. Generally, small-range tunes have smaller intervals than wide-range tunes. The wide-range Bean Dance songs have small intervals, and False Face Dance songs repeatedly use an interval of a fourth. Iroquois songs make imaginative use of intervals and even include semitones (Bean Dance) and augmented fourths (False Face Dance).

The size of range and intervals apparently does not relate to the function of a song, but, in general, medicine rites have more confined patterns than social dances. Frequently a suite begins and ends with a wide range and has limited melodies in the middle. This is most conspicuous in the case of the Drum Dance, which focuses on central, monotone chants. Part I of Drum Dance starts with a ten-tone range, shrinks to an octave (3), shrinks to a fourth (6, 13), then expands to a fifth (14), and ends with an octave (19).

Scales

The scale determines not only the range and intervals but also the entire quality of a tune. Except for the monotone antiphonies and Husk Face Dance songs, the scales can be classified into quartal and tertial. Quartal scales cluster around the fourth and main tones. Most common is a 42 1 or 54 21 scale, or with a dip to the lower octave, the 54 21 *5* scale. Tertial scales are built on thirds and can develop into diatonic scales. Both types can use intervals of a second, third, or fourth. The third of the scale, between major and minor, is often 'blue.'

In the following tables, the numerals for the tones descend, because of the descending melodic trend. The tones are aligned vertically. Thus, the main tone (1) is always in the same column; the octave (8) likewise, etc. Gaps signify the absence of tones in the scale. (Full scale would be 10987654321 *765 321* but never occurs.)

QUARTAL SCALES IN DANCES:

Two-tone	3 1	Drum 3 (Figure 42)
Three-tone	4 21	Drum 1 (Figure 80)
	54 1	False Face 2–4
Four-tone	54 21	Bear 2, Drum 14, Garters 4
	54 21 *5*	Bear 1; Trotting 3, 5; Raccoon 4
	65 21 *65*	Corn 7
Five-tone	654 21	Bear 5, Dance for the Dead 2
	7 54 21	*enskanye* 2
	54 217	Dance for the Dead 4, Garters 4
	54 21 *6*	Striking-a-Stick 1
	54 217 *5*	Eagle 4, Drum 3, *enskanye* 1
	8 654 21	Dance for the Dead 6
	87 54 21	Shaking-a-Squash 1; Fishing 1, 4; Raccoon 4
	987 54 21	Fishing 2
Six-tone	87654 217	Bean 2
Unusual, five-tone	4 217 *54 2*	Drum 2

This system of display by numbers is simpler than weighted scales (*see* Kurath, 1951; 1963, p. 78–81), but it does not show the relative frequency of tones.

TERTIAL SCALES IN DANCES:

Two-tone	3 1	Dance for the Dead 8B, False Face 11, Trotting 1, 6
Three-tone	5 3 1	False Face 10, Feather 1, Garters 3
	5 3 1 *5*	War 3
Four-tone	543 1	False Face 10, 13; Eagle 2
	5 321	Buffalo 2, *enskanye* 3, New Fish 3
	65 3 1	*gowisas* 1
	321 *5*	Corn 2, Duck B, Chicken 3
	5 321 *5*	Trotting 7, Sharpening-a-Stick
	543 1 *5*	Corn 1
	543 1 *6*	Buffalo 4
Five-tone	65 321 *6*	White Dog
	87 543 1	Drum 7
	87 543 17	Bean 3
	1098 5 3 1	War 2
Six-tone	98 654321	Eagle 1
	876543 1 *5*	New *enskanye* 2
Diatonic	10987654321	New *enskanye* 1
Unusual, five-tone	43 17 *543 1*	Pigeon 2

The examples, which could be multiplied, show how scales are widely distributed throughout the suites. As with range, social dances and some agricultural dances have the fullest scales. Animal rites tend toward quartal scales, and agrarian rites toward tertial scales, but this is only a tendency. The tonal characteristics apparently have no direct relationship to the dance, except that they produce an emotional effect. Without melody the percussion patterns would be boring and depressing. Examples of effects of tonal qualities on the dancers are listed below.

1. The contour of the Trotting Dance corresponds to the action in that the dancers turn sidewards during the rise.
2. Generally the range has so little effect that the men perform large movements during the small-range Drum Dance songs, and the women perform small movements during New *enskanye* wide-ranges. Only in the Four Nights Dance is it conspicuous that the women make small movements during the limited-scale Parts IV, V, VIII and sweeping movements during the wide-range Part VI.
3. The dissonant, augmented fourth in the False Face Dance songs, is reflected in distorted postures.

Melodic Quality

The melodic quality is partly a matter of song style and partly a matter of vocal interpretation. It has an important effect on the dance style and on the impact of the ritual as a whole. Bear Dance songs are short, clipped, emphatically accented, and require a low-pitched, husky voice. Husk Face Dance songs are sharp and staccato, Bean Dance songs flow smoothly with a resonant sound, and War Dance songs have incisive beats and a strong vocal attack. Such qualities cannot, however, appear on an analytical chart. They can be appreciated only by actually listening either to the ceremonies or to recordings of the songs. At all times, the dancers' style of movement reflects the quality of tone and voice. In the Bear Dance and Husk Face Dance, dancers move sharply; in Bean Dances they tread smoothly; in War Dances the men thump vigorously.

STRUCTURE

A song's structure is the assembly of the small components into a well-organized pattern. In Iroquois music, the small units are tied together into themes that are used in various ingenious ways. Sometimes a song adheres to one long phrase, but usually the songs have several parts which are either variations of one theme or several different themes. Furthermore, the several parts may incorporate one or more percussion and dance themes.

Development of Melodic Themes

1. Repetition of a short theme. Identical repeat: Husk Face. Repeat with minor melodic expansion: Drum 3; Chicken 2, 3.
2. Sequential repetition, that is, thematic recurrence on a lower level. The most common device: Bear 1, 5; Buffalo 1; War 3; Dream Songs and Individual Chants; some Drum Dances; many Four Nights; Old and New *enskanye*; Corn 4; and others.
3. Rising and falling sequence, inevitable in antiphonal dances such as the Trotting; Corn 2, 3; and Garters.

4. Reversal of theme in contour, often of lower level, common in Shaking-a-Squash, Fishing, Four Nights, and Raccoon 4.
5. Contraction of theme: Dance for the Dead 5; Eagle 2; Raccoon 4.
6. Expansion of theme: Dance for the Dead 6, Raccoon 5.
7. Alternation of two short themes, False Face 4.
8. Two themes, the second using the motif of the first: Dance for the Dead 4; Bean Dance songs.
9. Two different themes: Eagle 4, Duck.
10. Free manipulation of motif: False Face Rounds, Feather Dance songs.

STRUCTURAL PATTERNS OF SONG AND PERCUSSION

The schemes in Figure 76 refer to the following dance types:

1. Trotting Dance, with antiphony, and rise in B.
   In parenthesis, extension in Garters Dance.
2. Drum Dance and many others. Sometimes an extra A″ in Bear Dance, Drum Dance, and Pigeon Dance.
3. Relation of men and women in Dance for the Dead and Four Nights Dance.
4. New Women's *enskanye* Dance.
5. Buffalo Dance, variant in the Robin Dance.
6. Eagle Dance.
7. Striking-a-Stick Dance.
8. Fish Type—all dances.
9. Feather Dance.

A, *B* refer to major parts; *a*, *b*, *c* to subsidiary themes. The wavy lines and notes signify the percussion accompaniment; in women's dances the wavy lines refer to the rattles, which in other sections synchronize with the drums. *S* means soloist or song leader, *H* means helper, *Ch* means chorus or, if there are only two singers, it means this pair. In antiphony, *S* and *Ch* refer to the leader-chorus response. *W* means women. In the last four examples, the leader-helper pattern is used, but not written.

In (1) the dance change has a melodic corollary—the rise—while the percussion, if there is any, remains unchanged. In contrast, the percussion pattern in (4) is not reflected in the dance. Usually the divisions of melody and percussion do affect the dance, what with cross-overs in (6B), (7), and (8A′), a face-about in (5A′), and different steps with each percussion type in (9).

CONCORDANCE

The brief survey of musical features and dance relationships can be summarized as follows:

1. Each dance suite has its special combination of features and is thus distinct from other suites.
2. The functions of the dances do not seem related to specific kinds of tempi, rhythms, or scales, except that medicine rites tend to have a smaller range than social dances.
3. Generally, percussion patterns are simple, while melodic patterns may be elaborate.

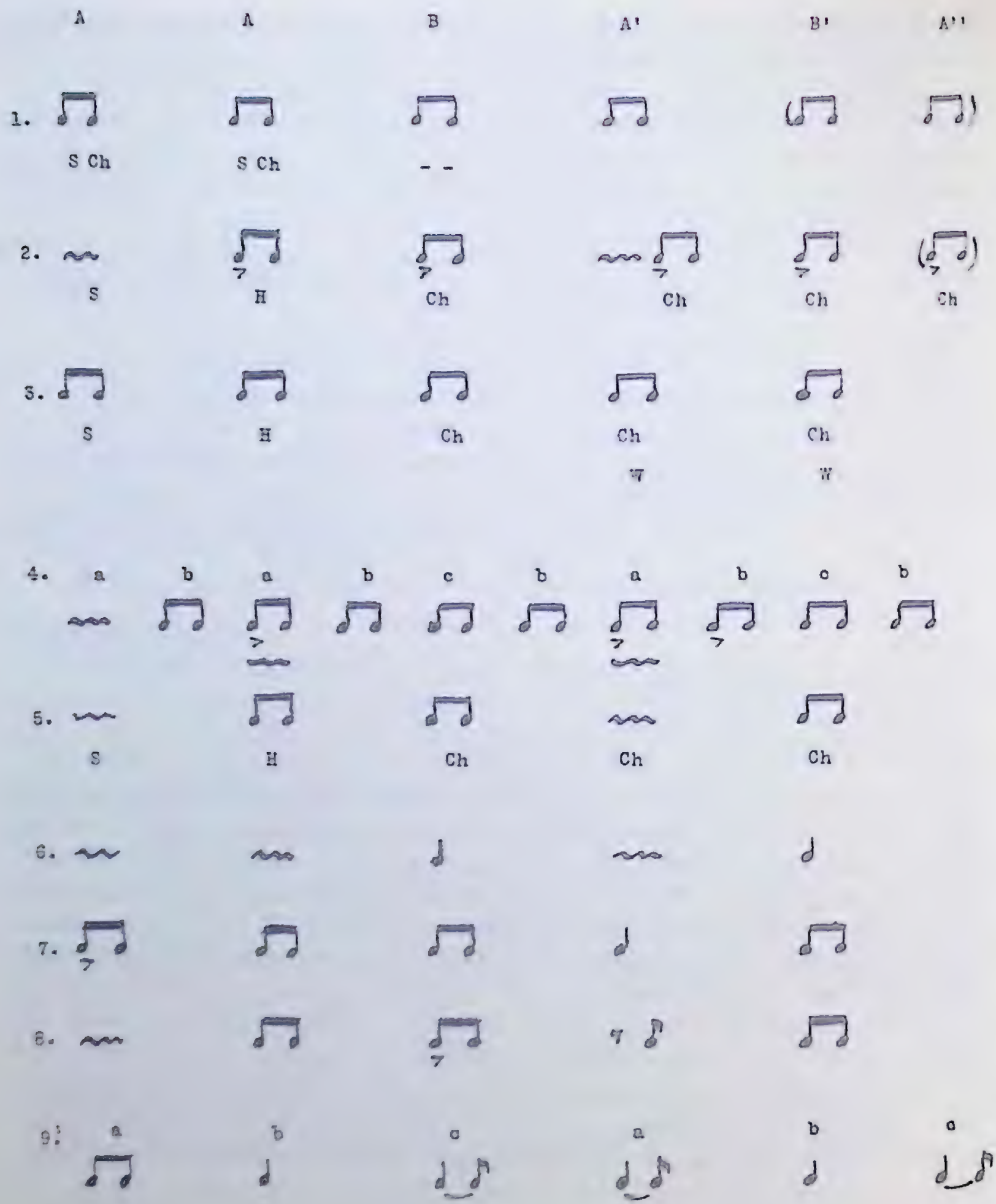


FIGURE 76—STRUCTURAL PATTERNS OF SONG AND PERCUSSION

4. In the sum total of repertoires, the most prevalent features are medium tempo, duple percussion beats, dotted or syncopated melodic rhythms, quartal scales within an octave's range, and a binary form which is repeated with an echo of the soloist by the helper. Antiphony is prevalent, with a special form and contour.
5. The characteristics listed in (4) recur in various proportions in a number of suites, but they are most prominent in Bear, Trotting, and Corn dances, as well as in Drum and Women's *enskanye* dances.
6. Cross-overs, which appear in a number of suites, characterize the Fish-type Dance and are associated with special melodic and percussion themes.
7. Within the binary melodic structure, some suites retain a steady percussion beat; others have regulated changes.
8. All songs and their components are well organized and often ingeniously constructed.
9. Dance and music are interdependent; they overlap in time relationships, but they diverge in spatial and tonal patterns.

CHAPTER TEN

Ritualized and Creative Variations

Tradition determines the ground plan, the actions, and the melodic and percussion styles for each dance. It also determines male and female dance vocabulary in some rituals. Tradition permits variations, either ritualized or creative. A ritualized variation refers to a formula for improvisation. A creative variation refers to a brand new composition, within the proper style. True creativity occurs only in the songs.

DANCE

The choreographies showed a few inter-Longhouse and numerous individual variations.

Inter-Longhouse Variations

Longhouse customs differ in very few ground plans other than in the arrangement of men and women in the Corn Dance (Figure 52). The differences between Longhouse customs in Canada and in New York State are more frequent. The Canadian Seneca Longhouse Eagle dancers line up as in the other three sanctuaries, and the New York Seneca Longhouse Eagle dancers form a square in pairs (Fenton and Kurath, 1953, Figures 3, 4, 5).

The customs do not differ at all in the type of movement for each dance. The basic vocabularies are pan-Iroquois, and the variations are individual. Improvisations are all ritualized in that they may occur only at specific junctures in the ritual and with prescribed types of steps. Talented dancers and comedians may visit ceremonies in all Longhouses, and they are allowed to display their techniques and skilled variations everywhere. Good animal mimes are welcome guests.

Individual Variations

In contrast to some other Indians, such as the Pueblo dancers of New Mexico, Longhouse dancers never rehearse for a ceremony. Hence they improvise all deviations according to time-honoured precepts. In the Bear Dance, the Buffalo Dance, and the False Face Rounds they may combine hop-kicks and stamps *ad lib* for a finale, so long as they progress or cross-over at the appropriate musical sections. In the male False Face, War, Feather, and Drum dances, and in the female *enskanye*, the participants start with the basic step and elaborate both the steps and the traditional gestures as they work up enthusiasm. The men's variations extend to body flexion and gesticulation; the women's deviations are limited to hops and wrist rotations. In social dances the participants adhere closely to the basic patterns, though they may vary the final Trotting Dance songs, Shaking-a-Bush Dance, and the step in the Fish Dance.

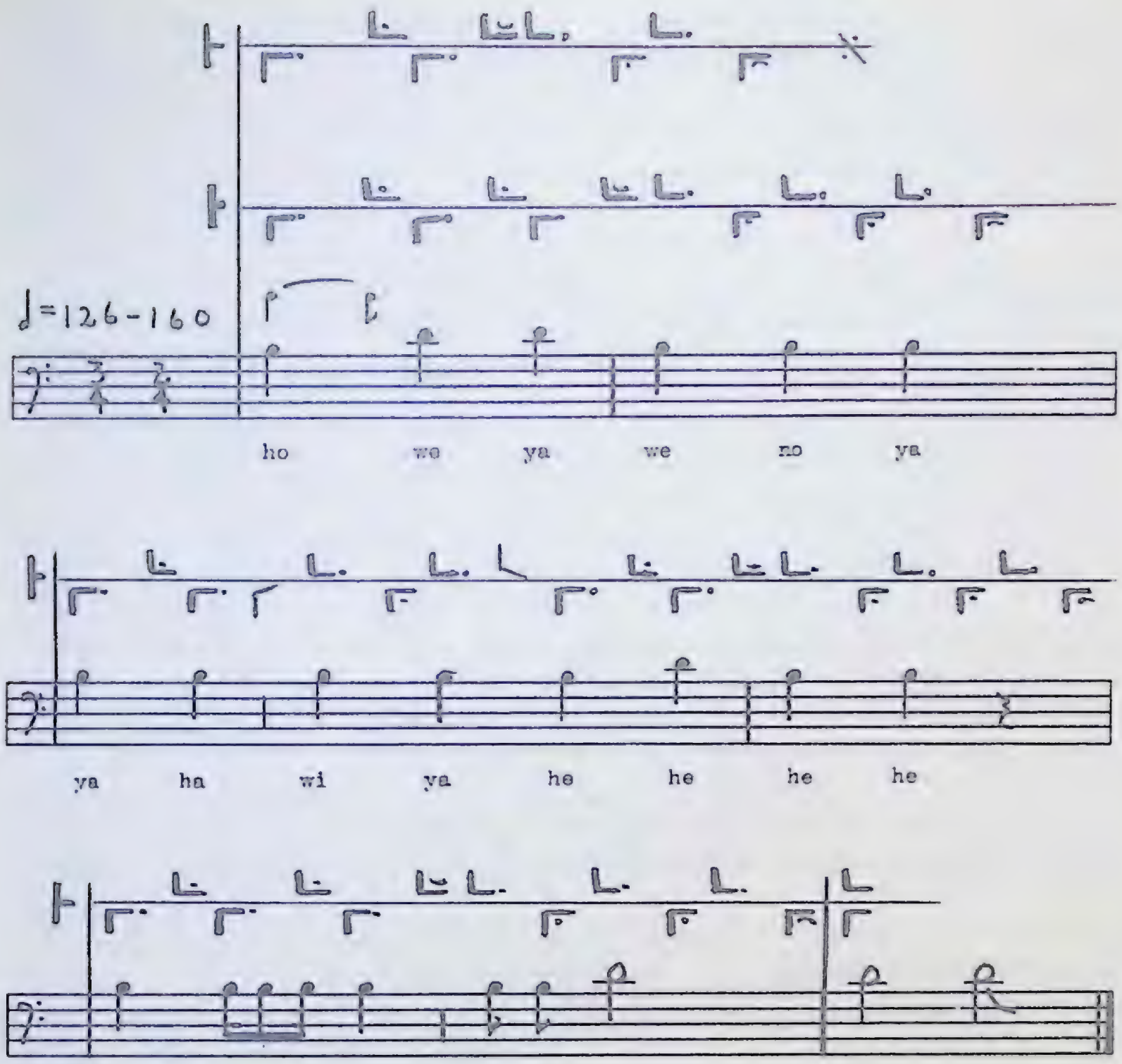


FIGURE 77—STEP VARIANTS IN FEATHER DANCE

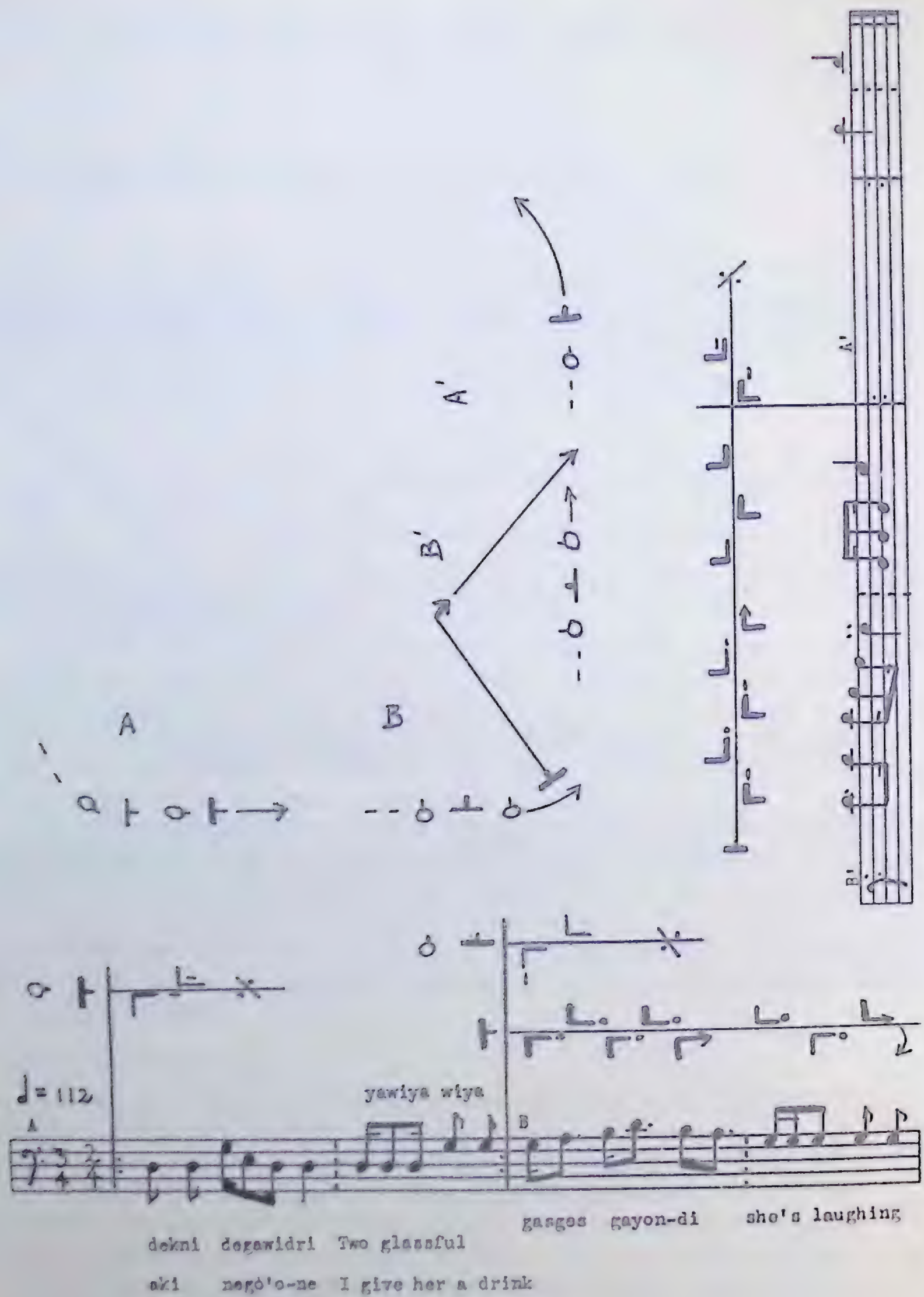


FIGURE 78— VARIANT IN TROTTING DANCE

Some of the variations follow shifts in musical phrasing. Thus in the Fish Dance sensitive dancers may change from a step in duple phrasing to a variant in triple phrasing, as shown in Figure 10. Similarly, they may add steps for a longer melodic phrase. Figure 77 illustrates two variations to fit the song in the Feather Dance: the foot twist, which is entirely kinetic, and the addition of an extra two-step to the basic step, which may be termed metric. These are among the few cases of adjustment to melodic patterns.

The above variations do not affect the ground plan, but the improvisation in Figure 78 does modify it. In the final stages of the Trotting Dance, the leader and, perhaps, others leave the line during part B; they stagger into the centre, hop-kick, turn around, stagger to their places in line, and end with stamps. They may fit the number of steps to the melodic phrasing and rhythm, or they may go counter to these. Meanwhile, the group maintains the basic side-step. In the two 'A' parts, everyone dances in unison. These final Trotting Dance songs often have meaningful words (*see* Figure 78). The leader utters the words, but the chorus uses burden syllables. It is conspicuous that the dancers pay no attention to the words; they do not enact them in any way.

Free inventions are rare and brief, and they must be expressed within the style of the particular dance. They may occur in the War, the Feather, or the Drum dances, but only in the male group. The second-to-last Feather Dance song has an unusual rhythmic pattern. For two measures Huron Miller improvised leaps and a stance (Figure 38, song 12, second line). But in the final song all men return to the basic step to finish in unison. This limitation contrasts with customs of other tribes, particularly with the inventive leeway in Oklahoma war dances.

It is inconceivable that a dancer might compose a new routine and teach it to others. A man could introduce a dance from another tribe, as was the case with the Cherokee Stomp Dance, but he can show an original composition only in performances for tourists.

MUSIC

The musical customs are just the reverse. A singer can compose a new tune and hand it on during a private sing, but he would not improvise during a ceremony. Yet he has some leeway in the Longhouse. After the first traditional chants he may vary the selections with songs from his own repertoire.

Variations in Repertoire

Each singer has a variant version of each ritual. Recorded versions of rituals from several singers offer a basis for comparison. They indicate individual, not Longhouse, variations.

The *Bear Dance*, recorded in 1941 by Joseph Logan, Sr., resembles two other versions but differs from the renderings by Percy Smoke in 1952 and Gordie Buck in 1963. Percy lived on the New York Onondaga Reservation, but he was a disciple of Logan and spent much of his time in Canada. The first dance songs are similar, but otherwise the versions deviate, and a few songs differ completely. Gordie's Cayuga version shows similar resemblances and deviations. The two chants in Figure 79 are practically identical except that Logan used meaningful Seneca words (Onondaga ones in other songs).

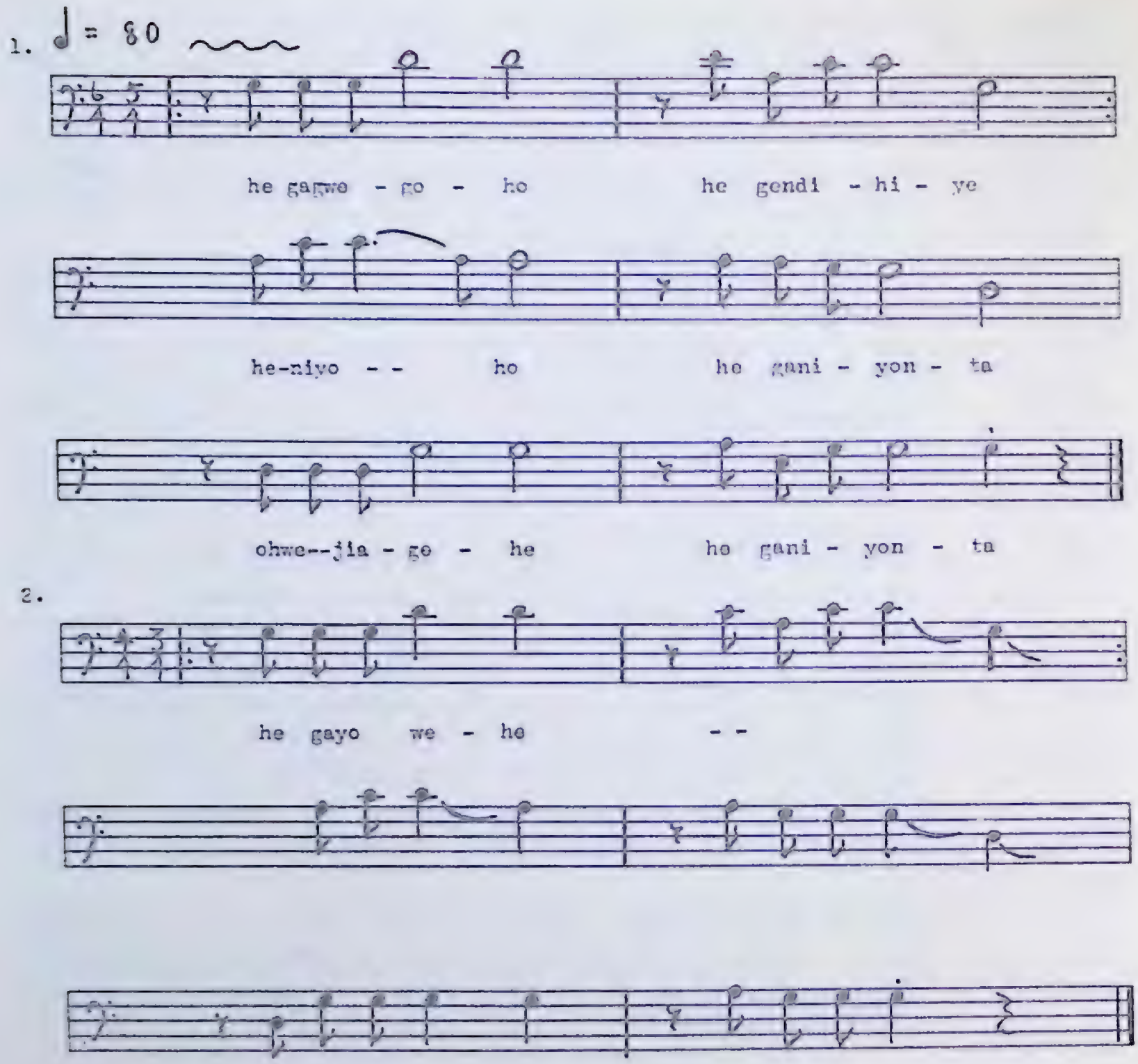


FIGURE 79—COMPARISON OF BEAR DANCE CHANTS
1. Third chant by Joseph Logan, Sr., 1941
2. First chant by Gordie Buck, 1963

1. All of it I know. Entirely berry bearing bushes.
On earth all berry bearing.

The first dance songs (4) differ slightly, as do Buck 5 and Logan 6, Buck 7 and Logan 5. Other selections are more distinct. Evidently the passage of time, distance, and individuality all contributed to the variations.

The *Eagle Dance* versions are carefully compared in Fenton and Kurath, 1953. The basic pattern perseveres in all versions, and many special songs are very similar, especially the opening chants. However the songs are never identical from version to version.

Four versions of the *Drum Dance* also show similarities and differences within a common tradition. In 1941, Joe Williams, Canadian Seneca-Onondaga, recorded thirty-three songs. Nine appear with the choreographies, and two others are illustrated in Figure 80. One of the latter is identical with a song by Tom Lewis, who moved to New York State about 1942. Another song resembles the second-to-last by Gordon Peters, who moved in 1950 to the New York Onondaga Longhouse. Roy Buck's rendering in 1963 greatly resembles the Peters' version of 1952 (*see* Figure 81). The first song by Buck descends lower than the fourth one by Peters (compare the New York Seneca versions in Chafe, 1961, song V, p. 52; and in Kurath, 1963: 118).

The following table juxtaposes comparable songs in the recordings.

Williams, 1941	*Lewis, 1952*	*Peters, 1952*	*Buck, 1963*
		1	
		2	
1		3	
2	1	4	1
3			6
4, 5	20		
12	26	10	
13	8, 9	6	3
		7	4
		8	5
14	34		
15	36, 37		
16	38		
17	39		
18		15	
19		16	

The old type of *Women's Shuffle Dance—enskanye gayonka*—shows more variation. Miller's version of 1952 has only one song (No. 5) in common with a recording by Williams in 1941. However, the Williams' version compares with Nelson Crawford's more compact Cayuga version of 1952, in this way—

Williams, 1941	*Crawford, 1952*
1	1
2	2, but shorter
	3, 4
3	
4	
5, 6	
	5, 6
	7, 8
7	9, shorter and varied rhythmically

The conformities occur in the beginning and in the end songs.

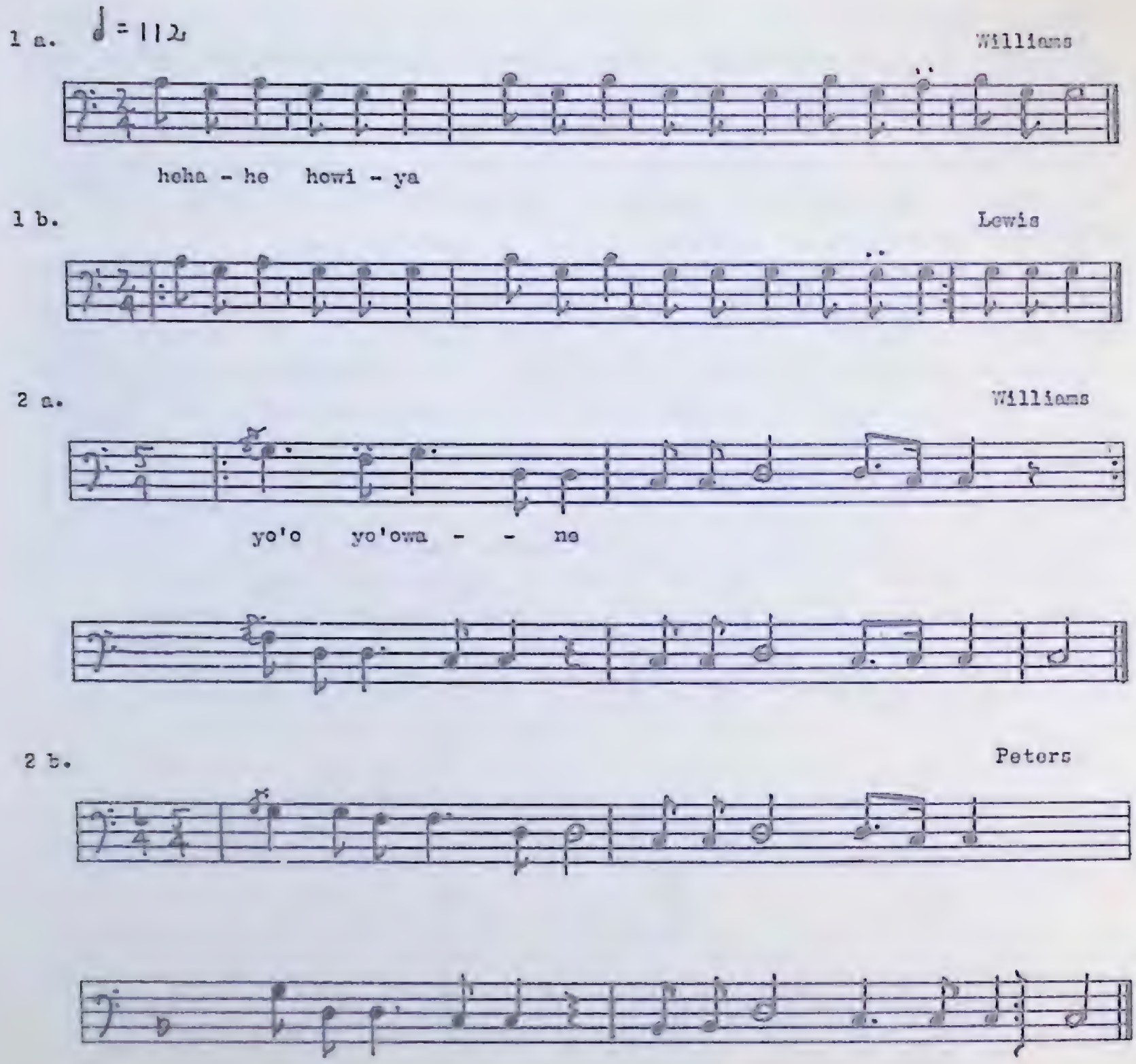
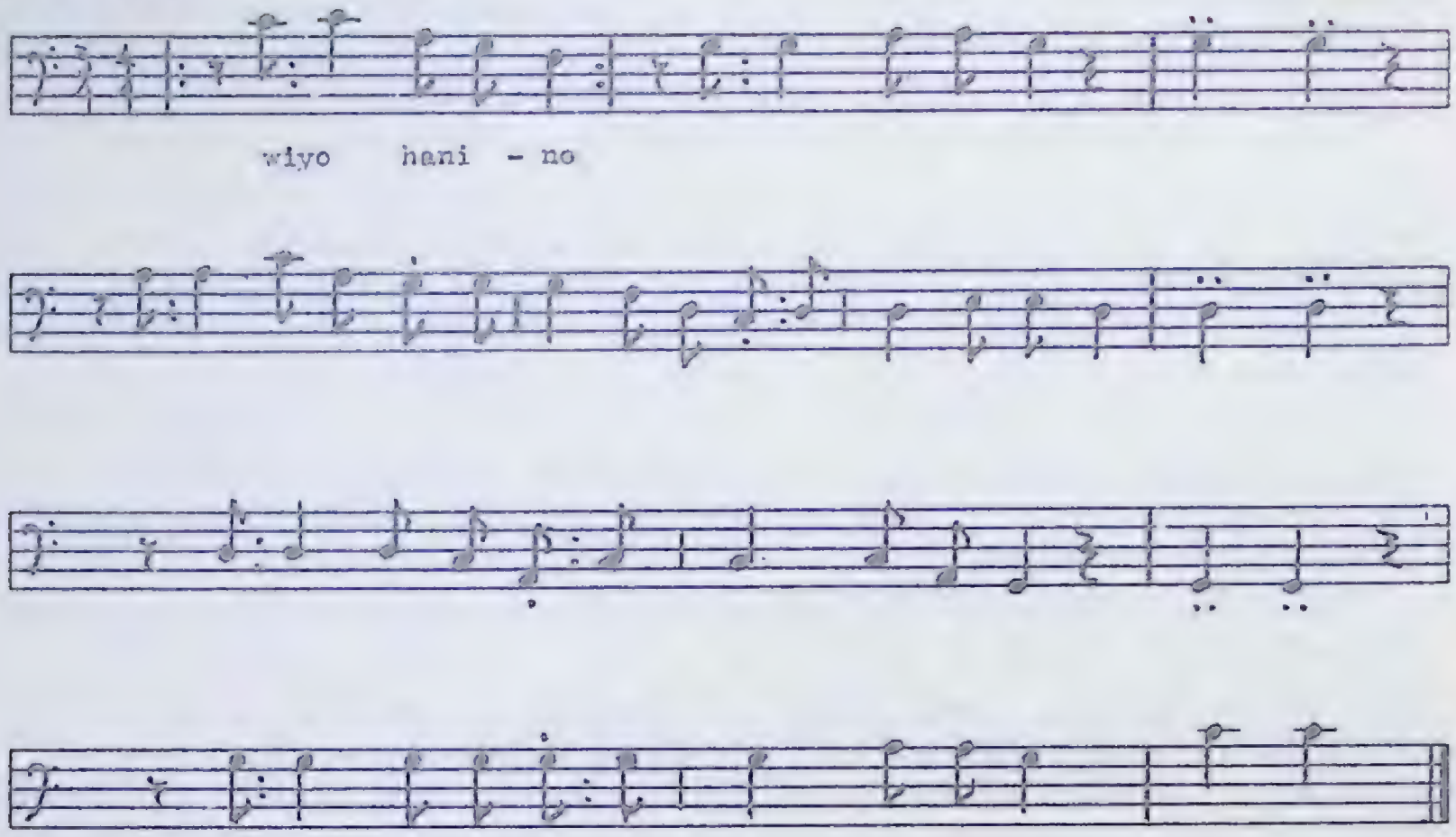


FIGURE 80—COMPARISON OF DRUM DANCE VERSIONS by Joseph Williams (1941), Thomas Lewis and Gordon Peters (1952).

1 a. ♩ = 112

Buck



1 b.

Peters

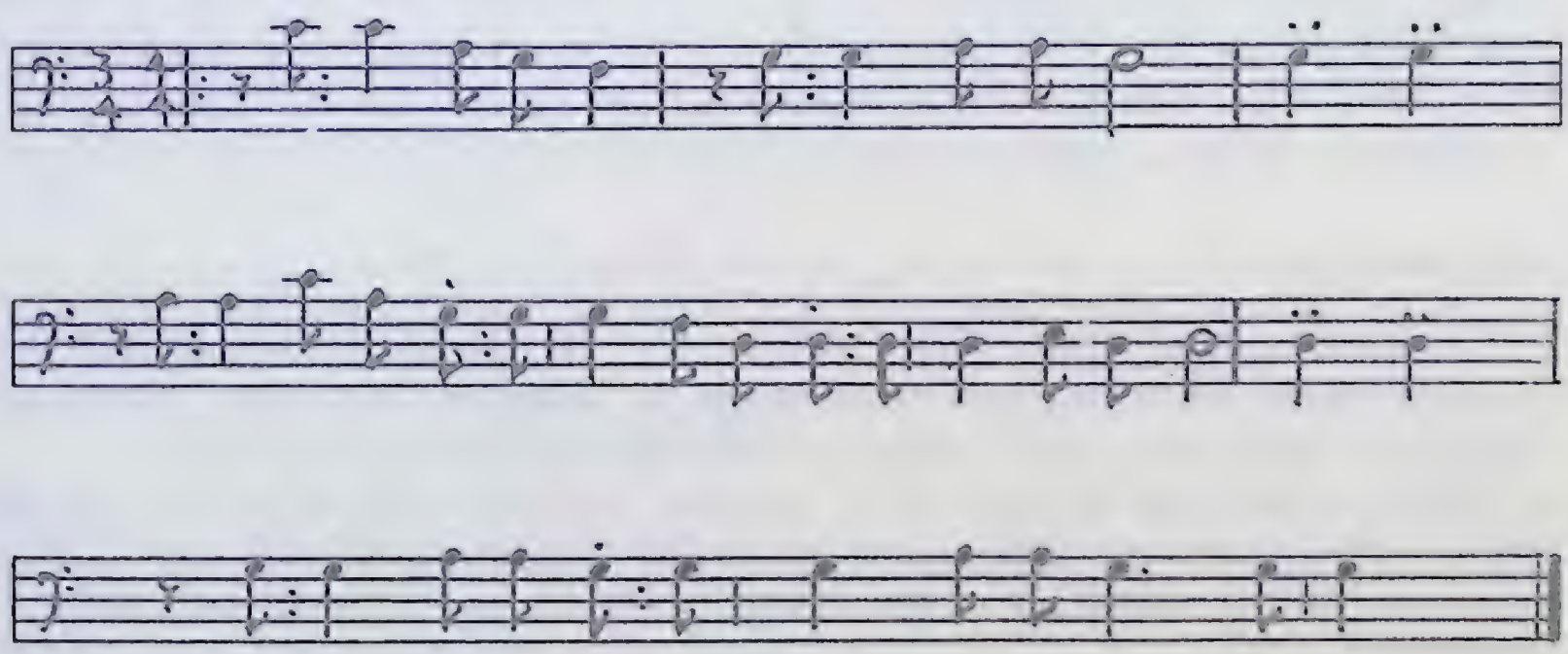


FIGURE 81—DRUM DANCE by Roy Buck (1963) and Gordon Peters (1952). Compare 1 and 3, 2 and 4

Various versions of the *Corn Dance* similarly agree in the first two songs of the Deskaheh recordings of 1950 (Chap. 7) and the George Buck recordings of 1941. Other songs differ, but Buck's last songs resemble those in the Allegany version of Chauncey J. John and Albert Jones (1941).

Among the recorded repeats by the same man, Huron Miller's *Trotting Dances* of 1950 and 1952 start the same but continue with many changes in selections within each recording. Chapter 7 contains the 1952 version. On the other hand, Willie John reeled off the *Cherokee Stomp* identically in 1950 and in 1945, except that in 1950 (*see* Chap. 8) he reversed songs 8 and 9, and he added two songs. George Buck recorded *Raccoon Dance* in 1941 with Joshua Buck, and in 1945 with Ed Styres. The first four songs are identical with some subtle rhythmic modifications. In 1945 Buck inserted two additional songs after song 4. Such an addition would conform to variations from celebration to celebration in the Longhouse.

The above examples, which are only a few, represent the most typical kinds of analogy and variation: similarities in the first songs and sometimes in the end songs, frequent modifications of rhythm or curtailments in subsequent songs, and very frequent changes in selection and order.

However, some rituals vary with each singer. The available versions of the Feather Dance, especially, have no identical or even analogous songs. At the other extreme are several social dances, such as the Fishing Dance, which recur exactly, even in different versions by different men. In general, the conformities are greater in social dances than in sacred rites, and they disappear in esoteric rites. The high conformity in social dances may be explained by the importance of these dances in gatherings such as the Six Nations' meetings.

Compositions

The above-mentioned suites, except for the Trotting Dance, have been handed down from distinguished singers to disciples. However, several song types are composed, either partly or entirely, of new compositions.

Men's *Individual Chants* may include a man's own creation, ostensibly received in a dream, although most songs, especially the Creator's and the clan songs, are traditional. The *Trotting Dance* starts with old songs and usually concludes with creations by the singer or by a friend of his (*see* Miller's song, Figure 84).

The new type of *Women's Shuffle Dance* consists entirely of original compositions, which, although they may travel to other reservations, remain associated with a specific composer. In their recordings of 1952 and 1941, respectively, Huron Miller and George Buck rendered their own creations. No two of their creations are alike, but all of them follow a formula of accelerating introductory beat, a call of an octave's upward glide, free form in descending contour, and a concluding formula. All these songs are high in pitch and strident in quality, and they all use the complicated percussion formula outlined in Chapter 9. But there are two types of structure. Song 1 has one long section that recurs five times. Song 2 has an AABAB form, with the formula Aab, Bcb. The complexities have little or no effect on the dancers, who continue with their *enskanye* step.

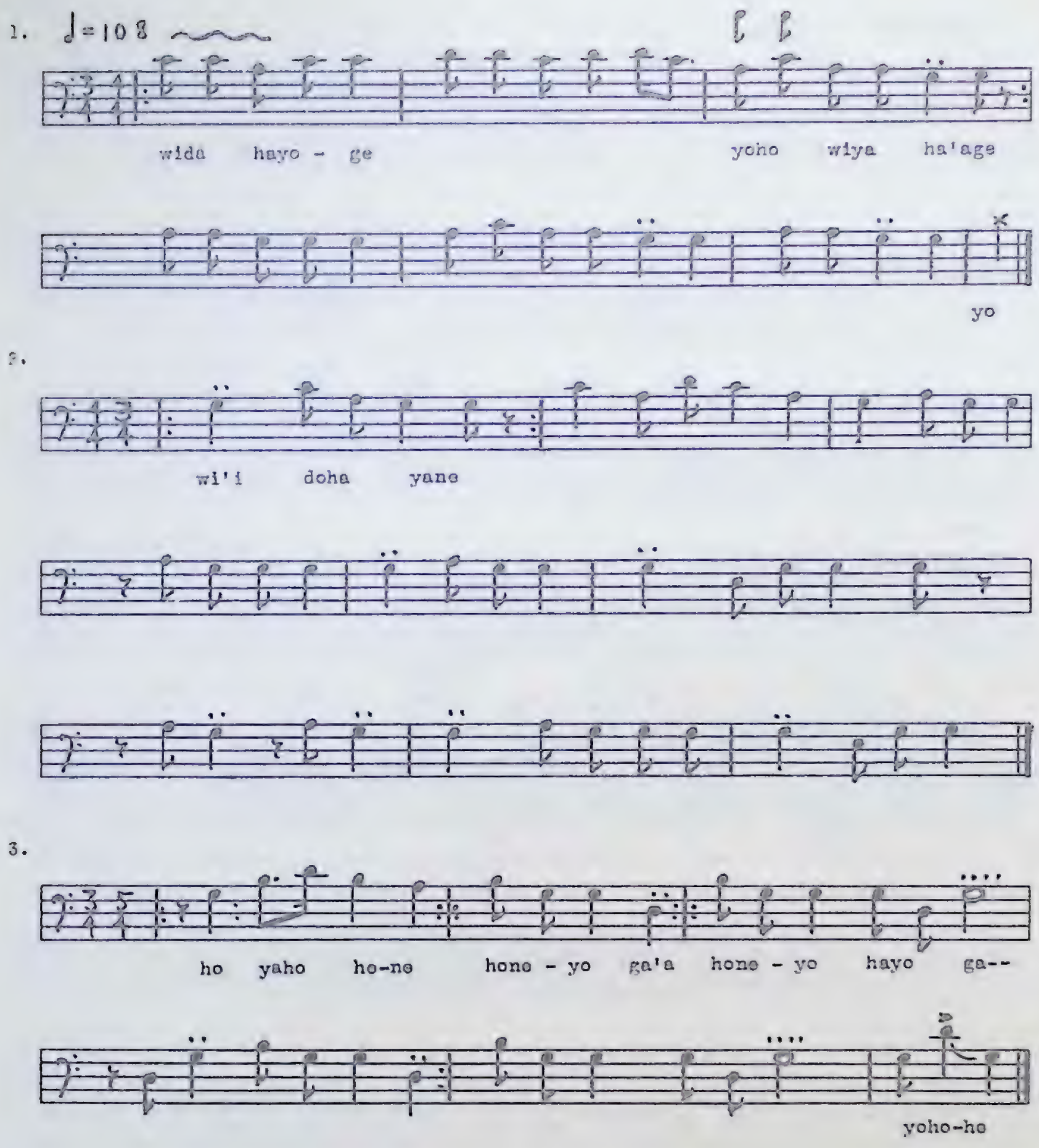


FIG. 82—OLDTIME SONGS, WOMEN'S SHUFFLE DANCE, J. Williams (1941)

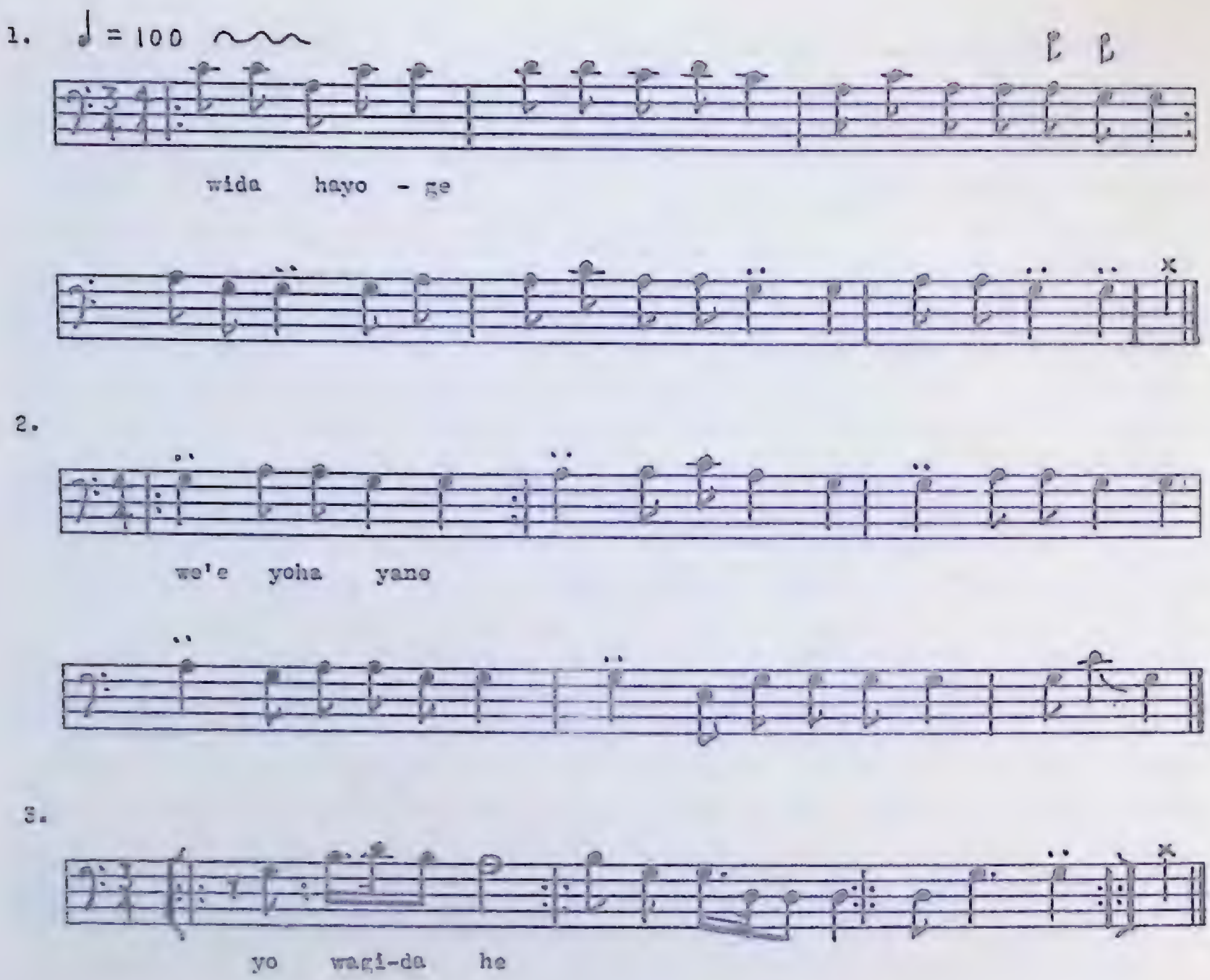


FIGURE 83—OLDTIME SONGS, WOMEN'S SHUFFLE DANCE, Nelson Crawford (1952)

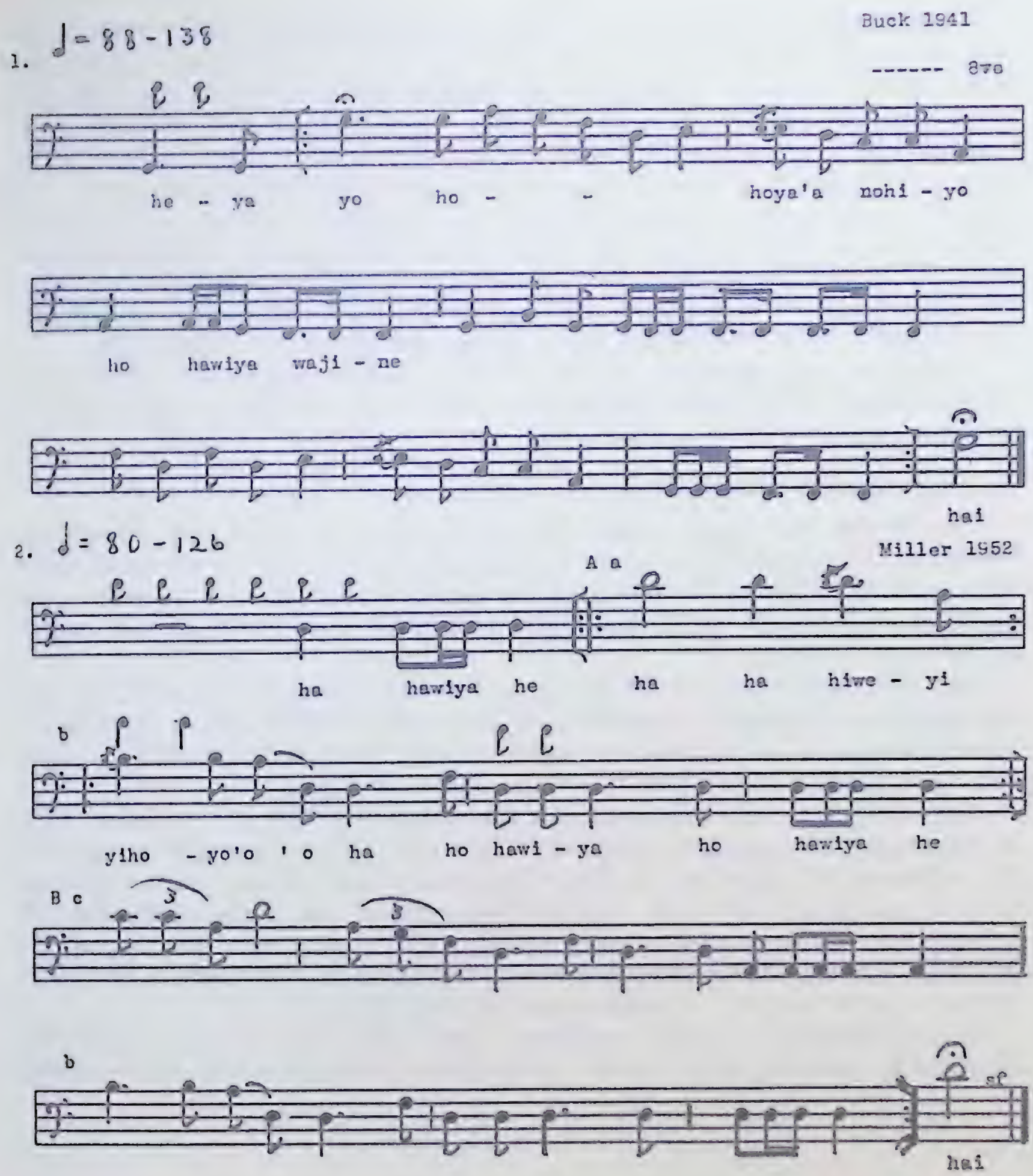


FIGURE 84—NEW SONGS FOR WOMEN'S SHUFFLE DANCE

A smaller number of new *Fish Dance* songs are recorded. They resemble the new Women's Dance songs in style and formula, but the dancers adjust their dance patterns to the old type Fish Dance. Both types of new songs are exclusively secular.

Although the song style shows no White influence (an influence of the northern Plains is evident), some songs are based on popular tunes, and English words such as 'Barney Google' are inserted. It would make an interesting special study to find out what Huron Miller did to "When you drive the nails in my coffin" or "My son calls another man daddy." It would also be interesting to find out how much a Six Nations man changes a new song fresh from a New York reservation. These are topics for future study.

Though women are rarely composers, they occasionally invent new *Gowisas* songs. Anna Green made imaginative use of the traditional song and text formulae in her 1963 composition.

Choreographic versus Musical Variations

The dances and songs within the ceremonies show little inter-Longhouse variation. They exhibit the same traditional characteristics in the four Longhouses on Six Nations Reserve and between these and other Longhouses. The variations are mostly individual, ritualized in the case of dance and creative in the case of music.

Dancers operate within the group and within traditional patterns, but they lay no stress on precise ensemble and improvise in some dances according to specific precepts. As a transitory social activity, the dances and their variations can be studied only by observation and participation.

Singers operate also within and for the group, but they are specialists. They never improvise during a ritual, and they vary their presentations mostly in the selection of songs from a larger repertoire. Each singer has a distinctive version and style, and each can compose certain new songs away from the ceremonies. As a precise artistic activity, the singing can be mechanically recorded and then studied from these recordings. But it is essential to observe the function of singing in combination with the dance.

These differences do not occasion a clash. On the contrary, all activities combine spontaneity with security. They offer a challenge to the choreographer.

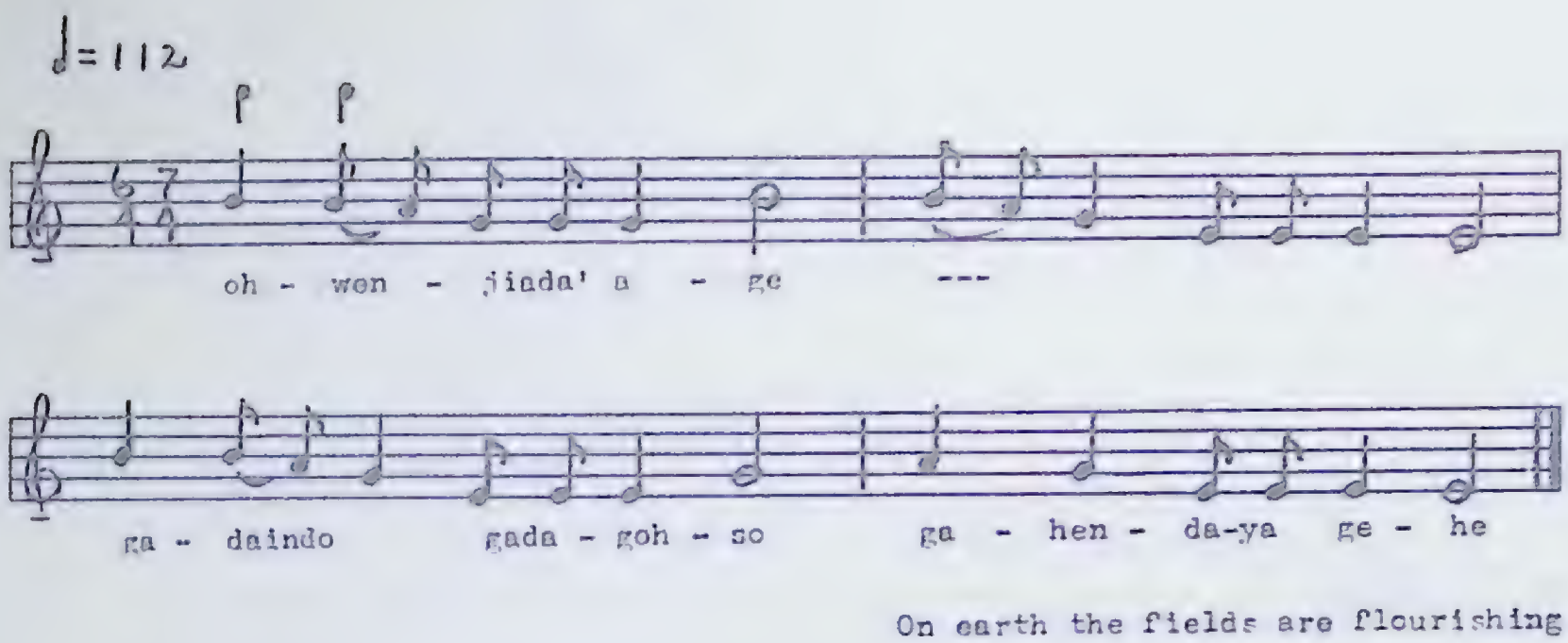


FIGURE 85—NEW COMPOSITION BY ANNA GREEN (1963), WOMEN PLANTERS INDIVIDUAL SONGS

PART V:

COSTUMES

The Longhouse Iroquois wear costumes for the Great Feather Dance and the Drum Dance. From one-third to one-half of the worshippers may appear in gala attire for these rituals at the Midwinter and Big Green Corn festivals. At the small summer food festivals only a few dress up, sometimes only three or four matrons. For medicine rites no one is costumed except the maskers. For the evenings of social dances no one dresses 'Indian.' Outside the Longhouse, costumes are a must for show dancers and singers.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Women's Ceremonial Costumes

The modern women's costume includes three major pieces and accessories. The three major components are a loose-fitting smock, a skirt, and leggings. The accessories include special hairdo, scarf, jewelry, sash, and footgear. The traditionalists cut and sew their costumes according to specific patterns, with variations in details.

Smock

The smock, most frequently of blue-flowered calico, sometimes of solid red cotton, reaches below the knees (Figure 86). It usually opens down the front and fastens with snaps, but some matrons sew it together in front and leave a slit, of about a foot, from the hem up. Some women cut the hem in scallops. They ornament all borders, including the hem, with strips of rayon ribbon—usually one strip around the neck, one down the front, one on the cuffs of the long, full sleeves, and two strips along the hem. They may finish the hem with lace.

The pattern in Figure 87 is basic to either smock style. In the open-front type it is necessary to allow for a slight overlap, and two to three inches for facing on both sides. One must always allow for seams and the hem.

The order of assembly is as follows: sew up darts at waist front and centre back of neck; cut along the line in front from the sleeve hole towards the centre front; gather the lower part and re-attach it for a gathered yoke; gather lower edge of sleeve and attach to cuff with trim; fold front facing over and stitch down; gather top of lower back piece; attach this to top piece at waist; join front and back at shoulder seams; apply one-inch facing around the inside neck edge and ribbon trim on the outside; take darts at shoulders for one continuous tuck crossing the shoulder seam; attach sleeves to armholes; hem the side seams and seams under sleeves from the outer cuff edge to the skirt bottom; hem the skirt. Attach the snap closures down the front from neck to waist and trim the front; or sew up the front seam and trim the slit near the bottom.

For trimming, sew half-inch to one-inch ribbon parallel to the hem and opening 1½ inches above the bottom of the smock, and another row 1½ inches above this. Use narrow ribbon above the gathering at the yoke, extending from the sleeve edge to the end of the gathered part. Sew a narrow ribbon along the upper edge of the cuff.

Skirt

The skirt can be constructed in either of two simple ways. The more common pattern is a six-gored closed skirt, about a yard long and 76 inches around the hem. Any standard pattern for a gored skirt will do. Another style, more traditional but now rare, is a gathered wrap-around on the pattern of a

broom-stick skirt. A piece of broadcloth a yard wide and two yards long is sewn together along the two raw edges, but on the left it remains open about eight inches, and it is finished along the opening. One selvedge is gathered to form the waist and is finished with a waistband.

Both types of skirt have an ordinary waist-closing with snaps or hook-and-eye on the left; both are finished with one or two strips of ribbon, like the smock. For a handsome hem, sew a one-inch red silk ribbon flush along the hem and finish the top of the ribbon with white beads an inch apart and the bottom with a bead border. For a rich effect, sew bead designs on the skirt between the hems of the skirt and the smock. A white cotton petticoat with lace trim serves as a foundation garment, but it does not protrude.

Leggings

The leggings, which are not likely to turn up in Butterick patterns, are of uniform and simple construction, with a few variant shapes (Figure 88). They reach from knee to instep. Cut two narrow strips of the same size in red or black broadcloth or flannel. Sew each strip along the seam, leaving three inches open above the edges. Face the edges and the hem. The opening will be at the bottom front. Pull an elastic or drawstring through an inch-wide overfold at the top, so as to hold the legging securely below the knee.

For trimming, attach an edging of silk or rayon ribbon in a contrasting colour to match the skirt hem. Then sew an edge of beads and one of lace along the opening and the hems. If desired, insert elaborate bead designs in the corners of the curved gaps and along the hems.

Accessories

A headband and feather are not traditional. Women wear their hair long enough to tie back with a ribbon. Matrons tie their hair back without braiding. Young girls use several styles of braiding the hair and tieing bows. One style appears in Figure 86.

For neckwear a woman folds a silk or rayon scarf diagonally, drapes it around her neck with the two loose V's in the back, and fastens it with an old silver heirloom brooch, if she owns one. The scarf may be of any colour or design.

The more necklaces the better. A wampum heirloom is a prized ornament, but any long strings of beads will do. Some strings are long enough for several wrappings around the neck and for extension to the waist, or below. A set of earrings and a comb complete the decorations. Some women wear wide, beaded cloth belts. Most of them tie a solid coloured or striped sash around the waist.

Oxfords or leather slippers with low heels are the preferred footwear. It would be easy enough to buy commercial moccasins and to decorate them with beadwork, as the current style of store moccasins resembles an old Iroquois style, with a long tongue. However, moccasins or crepe-soled shoes stick to the softwood floor of the Longhouse during the women's swivelling steps. Moccasins are also less convenient for the walk from home.

Beadwork

The beadwork, which provides the most attractive decoration, is not woven on a loom but is sewn on the cloth itself. Good beads should be used, prefer-

ably the 'seed beads' that are imported from Czecho-Slovakia. Draw on tissue paper the desired design. This can be a simple arrangement of straight lines, triangles, or curves, or one of the traditional, symbolic designs in Figure 88, or some other design, as in Plate XV. With the paper pinned to the back of the material, run large stitches along the outline and then remove the paper. One of two threads is laid alongside the design and strung with several beads; then the second thread fastens the first one to the cloth, and so on. After beading the outline, fill the design in, using the same sewing method. Then pull off the large guiding stitches.

White beads produce a lacy effect along the edges. This takes only one thread. Secure from one to three horizontal beads flat against the edge of the hem, string one bead which remains vertical, and fasten another set of horizontal beads tight against the first one by passing the needle through the bead and the cloth and the bead again. This is done on the skirt and leggings but rarely on the smock.

DEVELOPMENT

Aboriginal Dress

Before the Indians accepted trade goods and other European materials, the native women wore skirts, usually leggings, and sometimes moccasins. The skirt was a knee or calf length wrap-around of buckskin or doeskin, fringed at the bottom and overlapping on the left side, left edge over right. Thus the wearer could bare her left leg and use it as a work board for rolling twine, and so on (Lyford, 1945: 21–23). A woman secured her skirt at the waist with a broad band of buckskin. She braided her hair and tied it with a hide thong or band. For ornament she wore wampum necklaces, and she reddened her cheeks and her hair part. Her knee-length leggings, also of hide, were slit in front like the modern styles, and they were ornamented with porcupine quills and fringe (Ritchie, n. d., frontispiece).

In summer the torso was bare, but in cold weather "these early Indian women did wear a tunic or overdress made of two deerskins, fastened into a sort of sleeveless gown. The necks of the pelts were trimmed off . . . and holes were made in the side of the skin through which cords of buckskin were drawn to fasten it together. . . . These garments were not always fringed at the side. . . . There was a short poncho made by folding a single skin in the middle and cutting a hole for the necks" (Wissler, 1915: 80). This did not reach to the waist, and it was not fastened by a belt. In the winter the women, like the men, adopted the parka from the neighbouring Algonquians.

Eighteenth Century

During early contacts with White men, trade goods came into vogue, and cloth began to replace skins in the traditional garb. In the later eighteenth century the materials encouraged the making of new items of apparel, especially coverings for the torso. White captives among the Indians described women's smocks and men's tunics that heralded the fashions of the nineteenth century (Barbeau, 1950: 535). Beads, imported to the Mohawks as early as 1616, appeared in embroideries by 1762 (Lyford, 1945: 72–77). Silver appeared before 1788 for currency, and then for ornaments, though native

wampum remained in use. Thus trade encouraged the substitution of European cloth, ornaments, and motifs for native styles and led to the development of the regal nineteenth century costumes (Morgan, *ed.*, 1901, I: 190–191).

Early Nineteenth Century

This was the age of splendour. The most astounding innovation in women's apparel was the smock of scarlet, blue, or green broadcloth or muslin. The back of the smock was gathered in big gores, not in imitation of current female fashions but in the cut of a coachman's coat. Padded, puffed shoulders, cuffs, yoke, and hem were richly ornamented with beads and ribbons. The plain front was fastened with a row of German silver buttons and brooches.

The women draped shawls, two yards of cloth with a selvedge top and bottom, over their shoulders, and other one-yard shawls over their heads. They oiled, braided, and ribbon-tied their hair, and reddened the part with pine-rot. They wore silver earrings and necklaces of wampum, sweetgrass, and beads.

The skirt draped at the waist over a thong or ribbon and extended below the calf. One type of skirt resembled the later style, with the slit on the left and corner decorations of symbolic beadwork designs. Another type was a wrap-around made from a two-yard length of black or blue broadcloth, overlapping on the left side, right border on top of left. Ribbon appliqué and symbolic bead designs extended aslant from the corner far across the front of the skirt.

The red or dark blue leggings and the moccasins with plain or puckered top were also richly decorated in polychrome beading, quills, or moosehair. The symbolic designs of native origin included the celestial or world tree, a favourite for filling in the skirt corner; the world dome of parallel arcs on borders in combinations with scrolls twirling inwards; and simpler zigzag or parallel lines. The scrolls have been interpreted variously, as ferns, violets, or horns on a chieftain's headdress (Speck, 1955: 60; Lyford, 1945: 77–78, 85–93). These motifs gradually gave way to floral designs, probably derived from French craftswomen, and later also to geometric shapes from Great Plains tribes.

Later Nineteenth Century

The smocks became more sombre, of dark solid colours, or of striped or zigzagged cottons (Speck, 1949: Pl. II). The waist and sleeves were less bouffant. A small collar finished the neck. Some smocks were closed all the way down the front, with little decoration. But more elegant smocks, as well as skirts, had a slit near the hem. Around the slit and along the hem they were finished with ribbon-work and designs in heavy 'pony' beads. The leggings, which were usually lined with cambric or muslin, had similar designs along the hem and a slit which might be straight or flared. The leggings were secured below the knee with a drawstring.

Moccasins, jewelry, and shawls remained the fashionable accessories. A beaded belt preceded the modern sash. For a while the women fancied small 'Glengarry' bonnets, copied from Scotch caps, and they decorated them with raised floral designs. They also sometimes carried beaded bags with handles (Speck, 1955: 61–63).

Retentions and Changes

The women retained, for purposes of costume, some of the elements of their aboriginal native dress. The leggings have changed the least. The skirt developed from the wrap-around to the ordinary gathered or gored styles. Slit types preserved the effect of the earlier overlap. The smock is entirely a novelty. At first a baroque garment, it gradually simplified the bulges and general cut, became longer and then shorter again.

Shawls and bonnets gave way to the present small scarf as accessories. Moccasins gradually disappeared from everyday use. The jewelry passed through a luxury stage and then grew simpler and less costly. The hairdo is derived from the aboriginal style.

The most striking changes are in the materials and, secondarily, in the decorative patterns. European textiles and, for a while, elegant materials such as silver replaced the native skins, quills, and wampum. Native symbolic designs became highly elaborated; then they gave way to floral patterns, and now they can be almost anything. The heavy pony beads were a passing fashion, but the techniques of beadwork have persevered from the nineteenth century.

In general, the women's style is a nineteenth century development. Yet it is considered the true Iroquois type of costume, especially at Six Nations Reserve. Faithkeepers say that Handsome Lake endorsed the imitation of aboriginal clothes in cloth because deerskins were getting scarce.

FIGURE 86—
MODERN WOMEN'S COSTUME

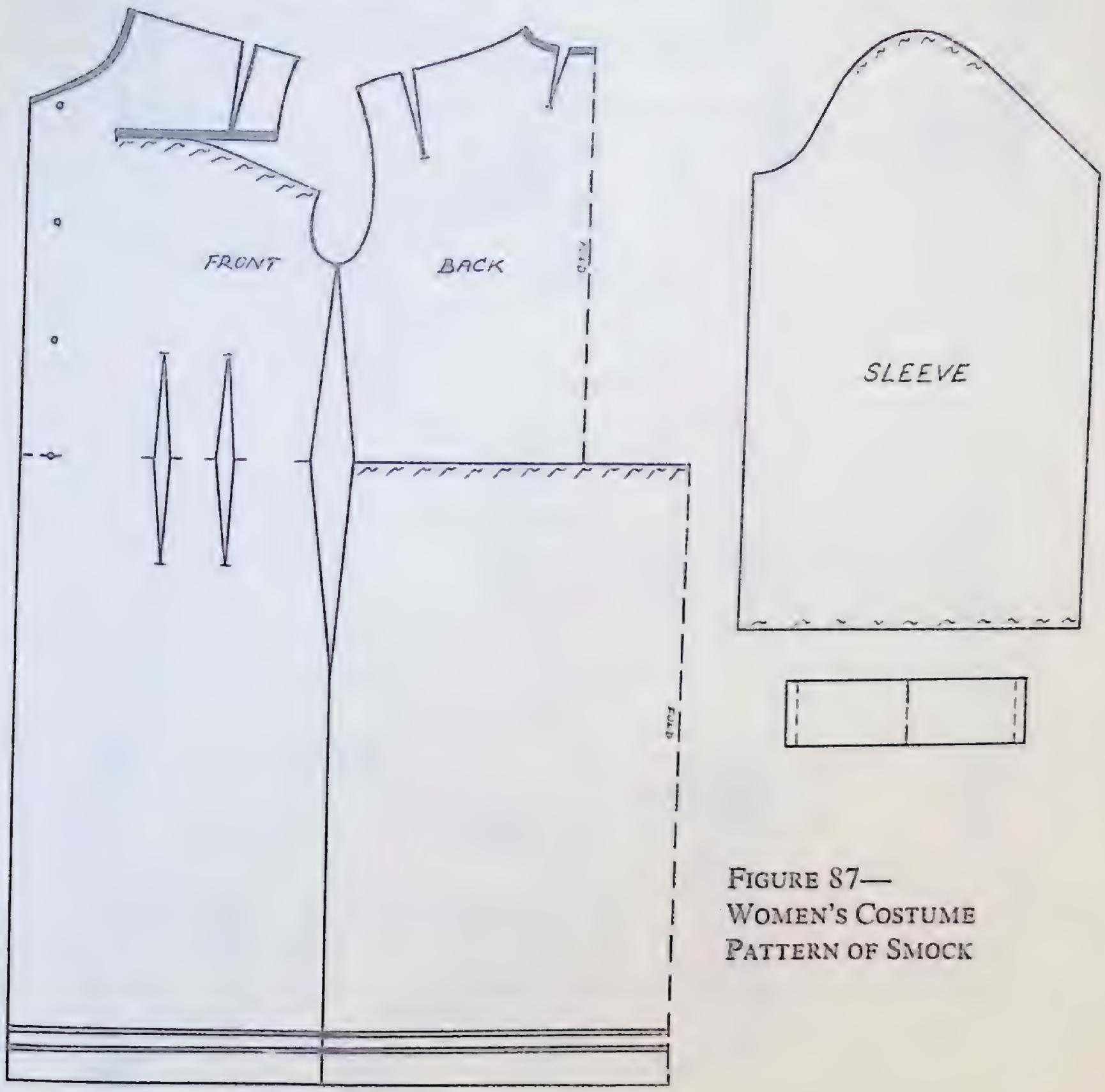
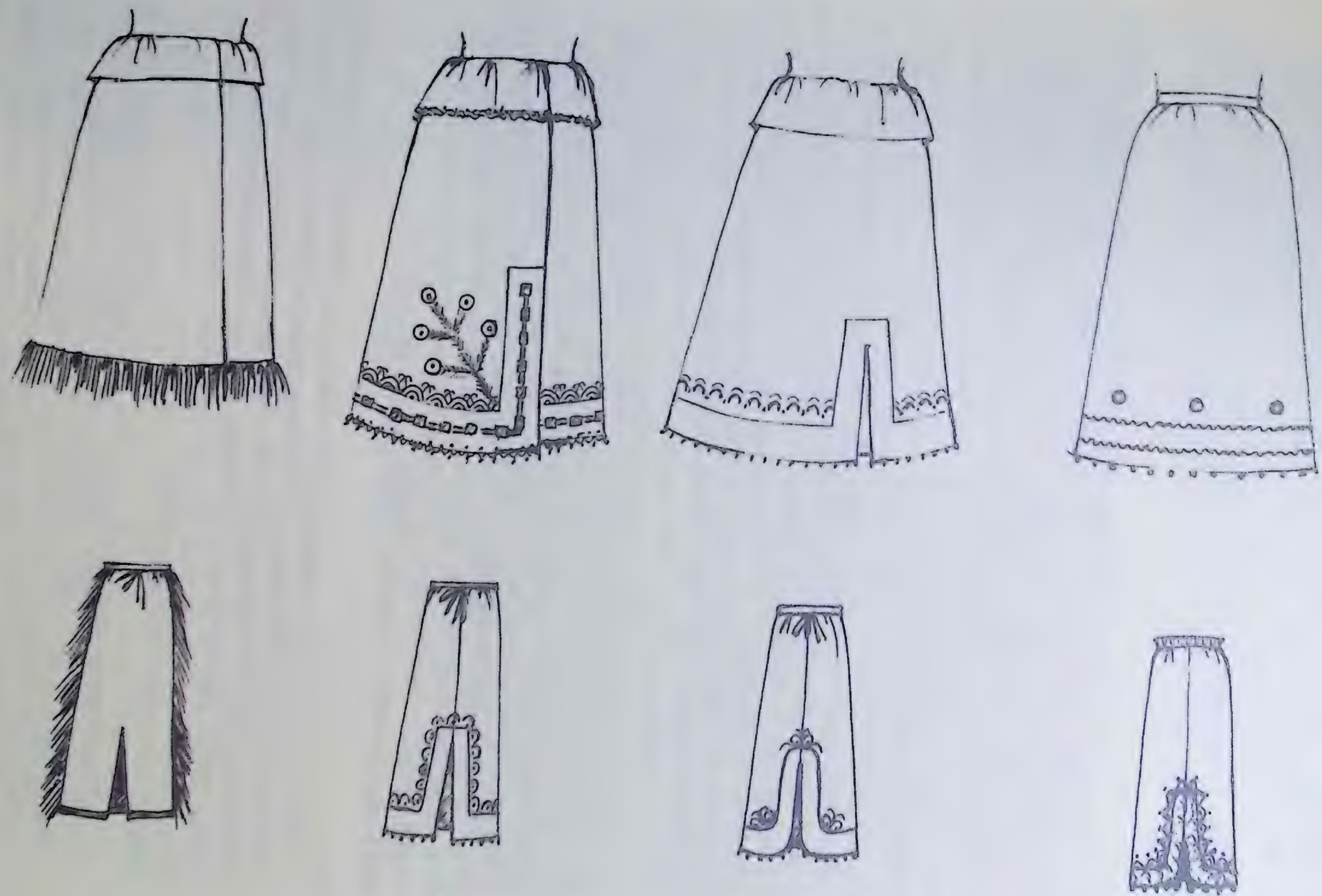


FIGURE 87—
WOMEN'S COSTUME
PATTERN OF SMOCK

FIGURE 88—
DEVELOPMENT OF
WOMEN'S COSTUME



CHAPTER TWELVE

Men's Costumes

Male dancers appear in miscellaneous costumes. At present they prefer an Iroquoian cap called *gustoweh*, a shirt, sometimes a vest, leggings, breechclout, fingerwoven sashes or beaded belts, and various ornaments. They wear their hair short, though for a pageant they may don a wig of braided hair. For footgear they occasionally use commercial moccasins, rarely heirlooms, and more frequently they keep on their ordinary shoes. A man may change his costume from year to year.

Headdress

Most men and boys wear some kind of headdress. They are beginning to abandon the Plains war bonnet, which was never intended for dancing and is an encumbrance. More and more they are returning to the *gustoweh* or 'whirling feather' headgear. In 1955 one man was evidently constructing one, and he displayed the framework of ash splints with a temporary feather on top. He intended to cover the frame with cloth, possibly with leather, to attach a cluster of small feathers—split heron, hawk, or turkey feathers—on the top, and to place in the centre an eagle feather on a small wooden tube. In the tube the feather could turn in the breeze. Tribal customs would call variously for one, two, or three feathers, but now all men use one central feather. Sometimes they simulate a *gustoweh* by surmounting the crown of a felt hat with ornaments and a feather. A dancer rarely wears a headband with a feather stuck in the back. Never does a Longhouse man use the hair or feather roach that is an earmark of the Oklahoma powwow dancer. For a gala bonnet he might attach a double row of turkey feathers and a fur band to a cap, in an old Iroquois style (Gabor, 1960).

Shirt

Some men wear an everyday shirt with or without a tie. The older men, and recently also younger men and children, fancy a loose, longsleeved tunic that extends halfway to the knee, outside the leggings. In a report from a joint field trip in 1955, James H. Howard describes this smock and its customary accessories. He compares it with the 'straight dance' shirt of the Oklahoma Osage, Ponca, and other tribal dancers.

> The Iroquois man's costume, worn by the men of the Onondaga longhouse on August 24 and 25, 1955, reminded me very much of the 'straight dance' costume (old style grass or war dance costume) of certain Southern Plains tribes, such as the Ponca, Osage, Quapaw, Pawnee, etc. I think it is very likely that both derived from a common source or else that the Plains costume was adopted by these tribes in late historic times. Outside of the headdress type and the dance tail, the costumes are nearly identical.
>
> Both costumes made use of appliqued broadcloth leggings, and a long shirt worn outside the leggings. The Iroquois wears a sash or ribbon outside the shirt, how-

ever, while the Southern Plains straight dancer wears a wide beaded belt. The dance tail and the long extra breechcloth tail seem to be Plains features. The roach headdress, however, though not observed by the writer, is used by the Iroquois on occasion. [Only at powwows]

The Iroquois man wears a knotted scarf around the collar and ribbons or aluminum bands around the upper arms. He wears a cloth bandolier, which serves only as decoration (Plate XIII).

Vest

If a man wears a vest, with or without a shirt, it is of tan or henna cloth or hide. It may be finished with a short fringe along the arm holes and hem and with simple beadwork along all edges, including the neck and front opening. Sometimes the vest is reduced to a fringed yoke—an effective dance garment.

Leggings and Breechclout

The leggings are not ordinary trousers with 'chaps,' like a cowboy garment. Each legging is a separate rectangle of navy blue broadcloth folded from the inside of the leg and sewn down the outer edges. The seam runs down on a slant or vertically, some four inches from the edge. The outside flaps are ornamented with ribbons and beads in any desired design, sometimes with buttons and occasionally with a wide fringe of horsehair. The breechclout consists of two cloth squares, ornamented and tied to the waist with a ribbon, on top of the leggings. A pair of swimming trunks serves as an undergarment.

Accessories

The decorations may be elaborate. They may include, besides the bandoliers, handwoven sashes, belts, and arm bands, a necklace of claws or beadwork and miscellaneous pendants. The designs are derived from any tribe—geometric Plains or floral Woodland—or they are original representations of men and animals in the style of pictographs. Beaded cuffs, which are stylish in New York State, are not a Canadian accessory.

DEVELOPMENT

Aboriginal Dress

So far as known, the *gustoweh* derives from a native feathered skull cap of hide. On the warpath, however, a man wore a deer hair roach on a shaved head; for special power, a wolf, bear, or panther head. A chieftain placed deer antlers on the cap.

In cold weather the Iroquois man wore a hide tunic with ornaments and fringes (Ritchie, n.d.). In summer he left his torso bare and wore only leggings, a kilt or breechclout, and moccasins, all of buckskin. The leggings resembled those of today, but they fitted tighter and lacked the wide flaps. Hunters and warriors just wore kilts. Runners and dancers might strip to a breechclout, which was a length of hide passing under the crotch and hanging front and back from a thong. The moccasins reached above the ankle, with a turned-down cuff; or they were cut with an ornamented vamp like modern commercial moccasins. Sometimes they were made of cornhusks instead of leather.

Transitional Styles

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the *gustoweh* continued as the distinctive headgear, but in cold weather a cap of fur was as useful to an Iroquois as to a nearby Algonquian. Until at least 1850 the men wore their hair long, in two braids, though warriors continued to shave their heads. A curious later headdress appears in Speck (1955, p. 95). It is a sort of roach with a row of long feathers attached to a leather-covered wooden frame and an eagle feather in the centre.

For cold weather the tunics became fitted jackets with long sleeves of fringed buckskin, like the pioneer jackets of the Daniel Boone tradition. For gala occasions the jacket emulated current military coats with ornamented epaulets and bandoliers. For the Great Feather Dance the youths were nude to the waist, a custom that appealed to Morgan (1901, I: 271).

In the early nineteenth century the men often wore kilts with bead decorations, either alone or on top of leggings. Sometimes they wore breechclouts sewn on the indispensable leggings and ornamented in the front like the women's leggings. The leggings were secured at the knees by garters or, for dancing, by bands of pendant deerhooves or pighooves. Later in the century the cut of the leggings changed to the present style (Akweks, 1948; Lyford, 1945: 24–32).

Besides the bandoliers and garters, the ornaments included armbands of silver or cord, a gorget with a symbolic design like a turtle; necklace, earrings, and a crown-shaped ornament on the *gustoweh*. Moccasins retained native patterns with a seam at centre front or a vamp with moosehair decorations or beadwork. But at this time the decorations shifted to French-influenced floral motifs.

General Remarks on Developments

The men, like the women, retained elements of native attire—headdress, shirt, breechclout, leggings—but they changed to imported materials and added elaborate smocks. Later on, they simplified the cut and the decoration, lost some of their native items such as moccasins, and replaced symbolic designs by miscellaneous ornaments. Early in the twentieth century the men, in particular, adopted Siouan items, especially war bonnets.

Today the celebrants are returning to the distinctive fashions of the nineteenth century, though some individuals affect a neo-Indian style with fringed tunics. They are under no restrictions as to styles, for the outfits are neither utilitarian, as in early days, nor strictly ceremonial. That is, despite their use in ceremonies, the costumes are not sacred, and they may appear on other occasions such as public shows. Costumes are not compulsory on certain occasions, but they are festive.

GUSTOWEH

TIE

BANDOLIER

ARMBANDS

BELT

SHIRT

BREECHCLOUT

LEGGINGS

MOCCASINS

FIGURE 89—
MODERN MEN'S COSTUME

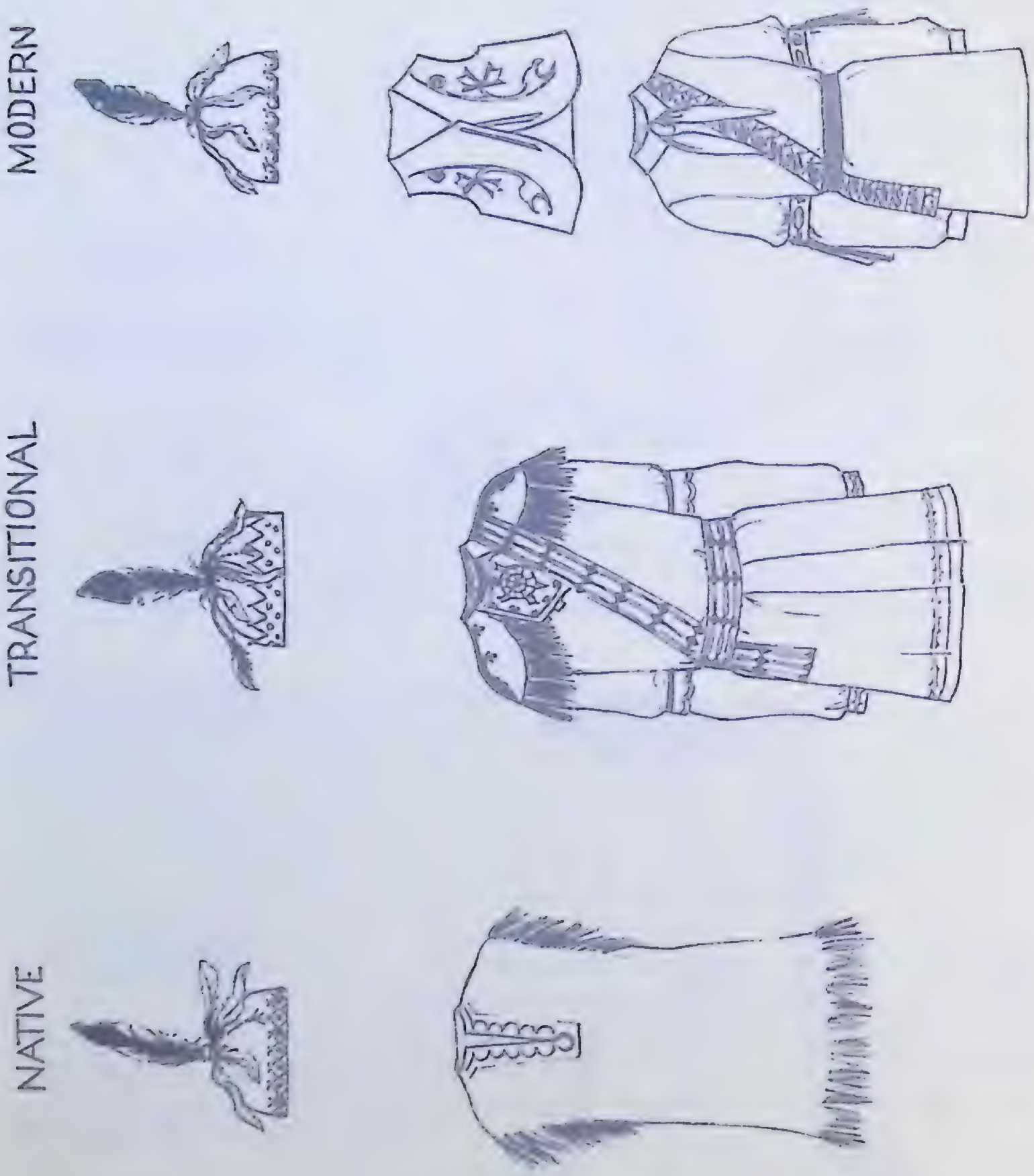


FIGURE 90—
DEVELOPMENT OF MEN'S COSTUME

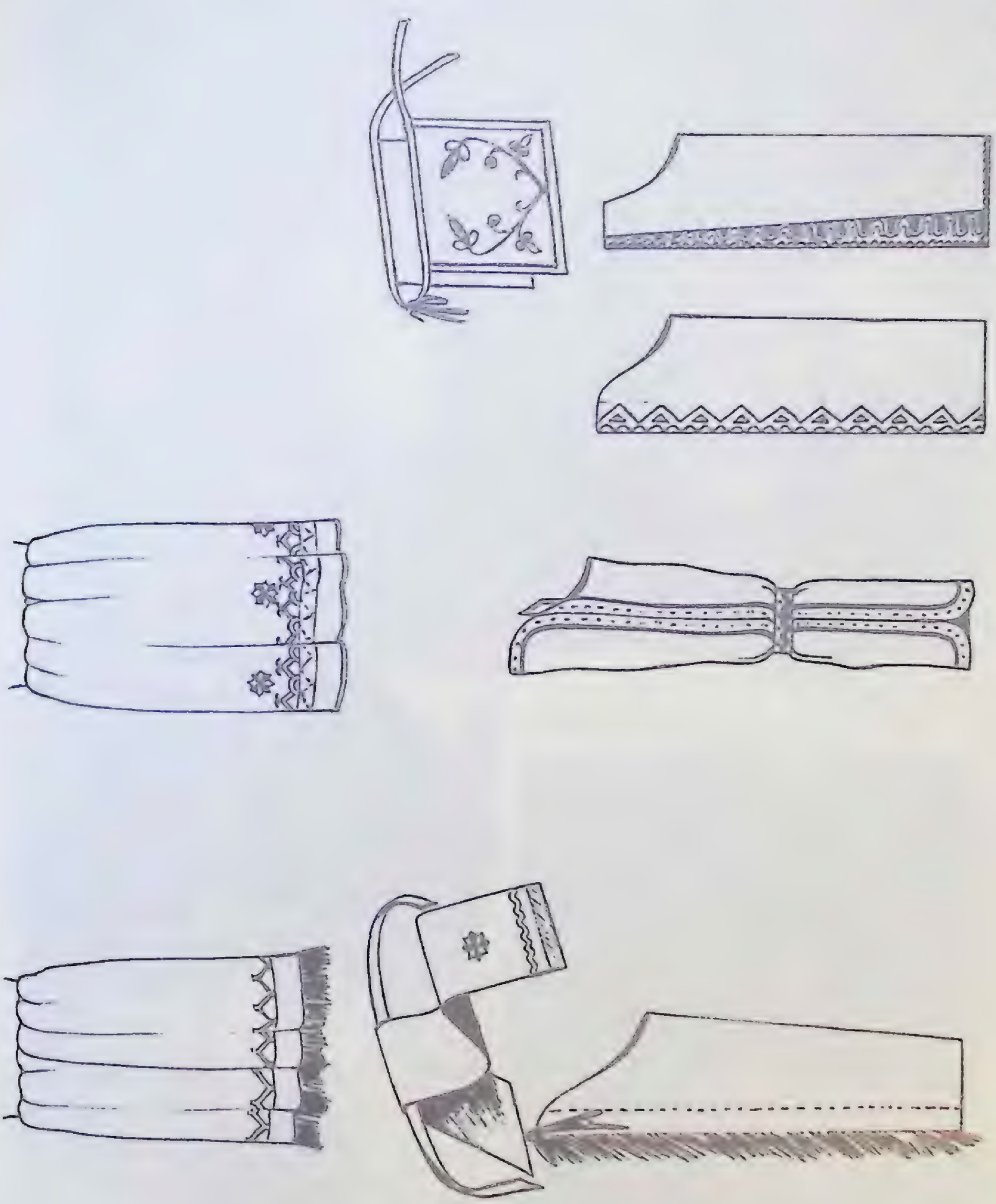


PLATE XIII

COSTUMED DANCERS FOR GREEN CORN CEREMONIES—
Bill Johnson and
Anna Green, 1952

Lydia Winnie,
Bill Johnson,
Anna Green,
1955

Joseph and Mrs. Logan
with
grandson, Delos Hill
1952

ONONDAGA GREEN CORN FESTIVALS

Anna Green
1960

Photo by Frances Wright

PLATE XV

1950

Thomas Johnson, Wilma Hill, Oliver Jacobs, Delos Hill

ONONDAGA
GREEN CORN
FESTIVALS

1952

Boys in costume

Women's Leggings

ACCESSORIES IN THE
CRANBROOK INSTITUTE
OF SCIENCE

Moccasin and Sashes

PLATE XVII

Male dancers in costume for Drum Dance at Onondaga Longhouse, Green Corn ceremony, 1952.

Women and children in costume for Festival.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Masks

Masks of many shapes startlingly transform the dancers in False Face ceremonies. The most important types, Wooden Faces and Husk Faces, dispel disease at Midwinter Festival and other ceremonies. Other types include boys' beggar masks, big heads, and cloth longnoses to frighten children (Fenton, 1941), but these are not dancing masks. The Wooden and Husk Faces represent supernaturals. They effect cures through specialized behaviour and by ritual associations. The shapes of the masks in the form of miniature amulets also have curative powers.

WOODEN FACES

The Wooden Faces impersonate two kinds of spirits in their Midwinter Festival appearances. A third type, a blind mask, belongs to the esoteric ritual of shamans.

Common Faces

These maskers crawl like cripples, or jump-hop, and they cure with ashes, as has been described. The masks are both awesome and comical. Their various shapes do not seem to be associated with specific differences of behaviour. In two studies Fenton has distinguished and classified crooked mouth, smiling straight lips, hanging mouth, whistling, bi-funnelate blower, spoon mouth blower (for ash-blowing rites), modified distended mouth, straight distended mouth, and an obsolete divided mask (1941: 408–410; 1956). The crooked mouth is ubiquitous. Smiling faces have special Longhouse shapes, such as heavy lips at Onondaga. The protruding tongue is Onondaga, and the straight lips and whistler are Canadian. Spoon lips are rare in Canada.

Various origin legends explain the shapes of the faces. Best known is the tale of the mouth that became crooked in a contest with the Creator (Fenton, 1941: 418–419; Speck, 1949: 69–71). The Common Faces live in the forests and in the wind. When they appear they must be treated to mush and tobacco. When the masks are not in use, they must be anointed periodically with sunflower oil and must receive small bags of tobacco in accordance with the ritual and prayer of the owner. The custodians also anoint the Doorkeeper masks and address them with prayers.

Doorkeepers

The Great Doctor or World Rim Dweller leads the last part of the False Face Ceremony, the round dance, and the hop-kick with sparring. Throughout the ceremony the two maskers of opposite moieties stand by the doors, leaning on long staffs. In contrast with the Common Faces, Doorkeepers always dance erect. The best Canadian Doctors have straight, full lips and a wrinkled spine on the forehead. Some of them have broken noses; all have long hair.

The Doctor's actions correspond to mythological beliefs, except that he does not literally travel from east to west.

> He is tall and carries a great staff, made from a giant pine or shagbark hickory tree with its branches lopped off to the top. He walks with great strides, bumping his cane and shaking the earth. He carries a huge mud-turtle rattle, and he stops at noon to rest and rub his rattle on the giant elm or pine which stands in the center of the earth and from which he derives great strength. . . . He dances, kicking out his feet and sparring, his thumbs pointed in the air as if he were to fall over backward. He makes the people imitate him, organizes them in a round dance, and watches the door to see that no one leaves or enters (Fenton, 1941: 420).

HUSK FACES

Whereas men carve wooden masks from live tree-trunks, matrons twine or braid cornhusks into Husk Faces. The tousled halo of husk ends gives Husk Faces the alternate name of Bushy Heads. The masks take various shapes, three of which require distinctive actions.

Male Beings

These herald Wooden Faces at certain rituals. They have their special songs and puckish style. They can dance with a stiff-legged straddle, or parody the fish step, or invent steps. Some of them have flappy mouths, and some have tiny mouths. They may have long noses or lumpy noses. According to Speck, there are some two dozen shapes, including eyedropper, cornflower, bisexual face, 'disappearing image'; each one has an attached miniature mask (1955: 70).

Female Beings

The transvestites are recognized by a rim of small knobs around the face, much the same as the 'grandmother' in Fenton (1941, Plate 13). They are messengers of the three sisters—corn, beans, and squash—and they parody the *enskanye* dance of the women who symbolize these spirits. The female beings dance simultaneously with the male beings.

Old Men or Grandfathers

These impersonators hobble around a staff as a Husk Face finale. They are rougher looking, with small protruding mouths, or with puffy cheeks and nose, wrinkles, and popeyes.

The Husk Faces are not so well organized as the Wooden Faces, but they have curative functions; they use water instead of ashes. They also have mythological associations with fertility and agriculture, and they have special origin legends.

> They dwell on the other side of the earth in a ravine where they till their fields amid high stumps. Coming from the east . . . they are hurrying westward to hoe their crops (Fenton, 1941: 416).

These ritual comedians do not inspire fear. They do not utter weird moans or whinnies, as do the Wooden Faces; they merely puff. Old men are a welcome sight on the road or in the Longhouse.

CHANGES

The maskers, especially the Wooden Face maskers, represent an old tradition. They have persevered in the ancient functions, associations, songs, and dance actions, although they improvise their routines. The carvers have perpetuated many old patterns, but they have made them more grotesque and more elaborate, what with modern tools and materials. They have become virtuosi at swooping facial distortions ('Old Brokenose' *in* Speck, 1955: 68). Eyes previously made of clam shells have been replaced with sheet copper perforated for vision. Short animal hairs have been replaced by white or black horse-tails. The carvers now use commercial paints. They have been inventing new creatures such as pig-heads and even Mickey Mouse. The weavers of Husk Faces have not become similarly modernized.

In the Canadian Longhouses the maskers have not turned to the dime-store for disguises. In addition to dances in native masks, the New York Onondaga enact amazing parodies of rites with commercial masks of rubber or buckram (Kurath, 1954). Apparently the New York Seneca tend to do the same, but the Canadians do not show this tendency.

The Canadians have, however, abandoned native garb. For some years they wore ponchos of burlap or blanket. Since as early as 1948 they have changed to levis, T-shirts, and ordinary shoes.

The dancers and spectators maintain their reverence for the rituals. Even a mask carved for sale is treated with respect. When Jacob Thomas sold me a splendid wooden, spoon-lipped mask carved in the best tradition, his father, the ritualist David Thomas, fastened a small bag of Indian tobacco on the crown by the hair parting and gave me additional tobacco to replace the original bag within a year.

The makers of the masks as well as other Longhouse adherents testified, in 1963, to changes in concepts of dance and spirit functions. As to shapes, protruding tongues are obsolete while smiling lips, thick lips, crooked mouth, and spoon-lips predominate. Among Husk Faces, old men can have hollow cheeks as well as puff cheeks. Bulging eyes are common.

The distinctions mentioned by Fenton and Speck are fading. Husk Faces still enact male beings, female beings, and old men as well as ordinary Husk Faces, but they do not distinguish cornflower and such shapes, nor must female beings have knobs attached. The Wooden Faces all are manifestations of one spirit and have equal power. Common Faces, as well as Doctor maskers, can lead the round dance. All traditional types of maskers can cavort and cure with ashes. Boys' beggar masks are the exception.

To the Longhouse people the spirits impersonated by the masks are still very real.

FIGURE 91—FALSE FACE DANCERS—
CROOKED MOUTH

FALSE FACE DANCER
Doorkeeper Mask
Soursprings Cayuga Longhouse

Photo by Gertrude Kurath

PLATE XIX

FALSE FACE MASKS: BLOWERS

Photo by
Marius Barbeau, 1950

Photo by
Gertrude Kurath, 1963

HUSK FACE MASK: GRANDFATHER

Photo by Gertrude Kurath, 1963

PART VI:

CRUCIAL DECADES

The Longhouse people are adopting the externals of modern life. In their homes they have been taking over twentieth century devices. In the Longhouses they still use paraphernalia largely from the nineteenth century. Yet the core of their ceremonialism and many of their dances and songs appear to be ancient.

The Iroquois apparently have always combined conservatism with interest in novelties. Some of their rituals appear to be reworkings of Algonquian or Cherokee rituals (Kurath, 1961). The three dances for the Sky Spirits are revampings of eighteenth century imports, derived from the Central Plains tribes (Fenton and Kurath, 1953). The present emphasis on the Four Rituals dates from 1800, when Handsome Lake refurbished the ceremonialism (Deardorff, 1951).

Since that time the revival has become a tradition with few major changes except for the reinstatement of medicine rites and the functional changes of the war dance types to curing rituals (Wallace, 1961). Morgan's descriptions of dances would fit today's Feather Dance, Women's Dances, Fish Dance, and other dances, discounting the awkwardness of verbal accounts (1901: 86, 87, 270–273). Boyle's narrative of the Seneca Midwinter Medicine rites could be duplicated in 1963 (Boyle, 1899). A few of the songs published by Cringan, such as the Bear Dance Chant, resemble today's songs, despite his recording and transcription methods (1898: 148). Yet changes are evident, and they are accelerating.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Inheritors and Innovators

INHERITANCE

Certain durable traditions appear to be the same as they were in 1948, and they have probably survived from early, prehistoric times. The Longhouse people have maintained their ritual organization, built on democratic principles and female prestige (Jenness, 1934: 135; Speck, 1955: 31ff.).

The Faithkeepers, who are equally divided between moieties and between men and women, continue to collaborate despite some covert frictions. They plan the seasonal ceremonies and conduct the festivals in accordance with the traditional rules; each person is sure of his or her role. The leaders carry out the time-honoured patterns of prayer, song, dance, and feasting. They assign singers from their own Longhouse or invite singers from another Longhouse, according to the abilities of the men.

The moiety-sex placement of worshippers appears to be immutable. While the children have been taking the father's name by White precepts, they inherit the mother's clan in ritual. Hence, in the Longhouse the father sits across from his wife and his children. A singer may enlist his son as song helper, because they belong to opposite moieties.

A father can teach a son. Frequently, though not always, ability to sing is inherited. Peter Buck knew Tutelo as well as Iroquois songs, and he was in demand at Onondaga and Lower Cayuga longhouses. His son, Roy, a man of sixty, is now a leading singer and ritualist. Roy's son, eighteen-year-old Gordie, has been learning songs since his boyhood, and he now has a formidable repertoire. His brother, Morris, is also a singer, but he prefers dancing. Their sister, Lavinia, has learned women's songs from her grandmother. Despite this heritage, however, a young man must learn certain rituals, such as the old White Dog chants, from a clan mate and not from his father.

The style of singing shows only minor individual variations from the style of 1941 recordings. The dance patterns and the style of performance are the same as in 1948.

The repertoire of important rituals has been maintained. In the case of less important secular suites, there have been replacements, which will be mentioned under 'Changes.'

CHANGES WITHIN THE LONGHOUSES

That the old people bewail the passing of friends and the loss of eminent singers, ritualists, and comedians is understandable. Since 1948 a new generation has been achieving prominence. The eminent singers are in their fifties and sixties. There are enough of them to keep the festivals lively. Enough of them also know prayers, and Huron Miller is learning the prolonged Code of

Handsome Lake which is essential to the Six Nations meetings. However, in the young generation there is only one dedicated singer, Gordie Buck; and there are few young people interested in learning long song series or rituals, even though they speak their native tongue.

The attendance has been shifting, with loss of old faces and gain of new ones. Not only does the birthrate exceed the deathrate, but converts have been leaving Christian churches for the Longhouse. Thus the attendance is still strong for major ceremonies, at least at the three lower Longhouses. Fewer dancers appear in costume, but the enthusiasm is unabated. Sometimes at minor food spirit dances the crowd may be small, as it was at the Onondaga little Green Corn Dance in 1960. Such depletion of the crowd usually has practical reasons; participants are often absent during fruit and tobacco harvests. Certainly at the little Green Corn ceremony of 1963 the Seneca Longhouse was bursting at the seams.

The little Green Corn ceremony of 1963 demonstrated one important trend. While the women put their hearts and souls into the *enskanye* shuffle dance, they were indifferent to the women's Feather Dance step. While the men were gyrating vigorously, very few women did a few foot-twists, and most of them just walked around. Unless an inventive woman introduces a new, suitable step, the female worshippers may soon merely amble along with their children during the Great Feather Dance.

Interest in the general repertoire has been dwindling. The social dances have shown changes in repertoire, not only since Morgan's time but within the last fifteen years. Enthusiasm for Robin, Choose-a-Partner, and Alligator dances has been waning. In compensation, several new social dances have appeared recently. In the late 1950's Chancey Isaacs and Percy Smoke, who had been out West, introduced the Oklahoma Rabbit Dance. Apparently its acceptance was not immediate because of the un-Iroquoian sunwise progression (Kurath, 1957). There are rumours of its inclusion in social dances, though I have not seen it on the Reserve. Another introduction, this time of Huron origin (The Dance of the North, *Towegeha*), conforms to Iroquois practice. Couples progress in a counterclockwise direction, the women with a pat-step, the men with a basic Drum Dance step. Josie and Verna Logan brought the dance from a convention at St. Regis. The dance and songs are more monotonous than the Iroquoian ones, yet they have become very popular at social dances, shows, and recording sessions.

INNOVATION—PROGRAMS FOR THE PUBLIC

An increased number of public shows is apparent even to the outsider. For many years the Christian Mohawks have danced war dances at a Fall Fair. Individuals have performed away from the Reserve. Since 1949 a group of Christian Iroquois have produced an annual pageant at the north end of the Reserve in the Forest Theatre. From the beginning they enlisted relatives from Soursprings Longhouse, especially the General family. But in 1963 the main singers and dancers came from the lower end to present a successful prelude and postlude.

In August 1963, Longhouse members opened their first public shows on the Reserve. For three years Josie and Verna Logan, with the aid of relatives

and a few friends, had been clearing a fine sweep of hillside by the Grand River; they had also been building an Indian village. On August 24–25 they held an official opening with dances and the sale of artifacts.

For both occasions—pageant and powwow—the singer was Roy Buck, who was helped by Gordie. Howard Skye served as impresario, and Eugene Skye and Jake Thomas (a False-face carver) were leading dancers. Other dancers were mainly from Onondaga Longhouse. They wore special new costumes, mostly of buckskin. Only two boys used war bonnets. For the Eagle Dance, Eugene Skye donned a set of wings—a prop that never appears in true ceremonies.

The directors selected dances from the Longhouse repertoire. They announced them as 'social dances,' but, in addition to stomps and fish dances, they featured all three ceremonies for the Sky Spirits. They included the new Dance of the North and a series of Scalp Dances. The Scalp Dance songs are traditional, and they have not changed noticeably since 1941, but they have always belonged to shows. The dancing conformed to Longhouse custom with traditional designs and unrehearsed, casual execution. The singing was in the best Longhouse style and from the genuine repertoire, except that for the shows Buck selected only a few songs from a suite. Imports from Oklahoma were not in evidence, not even Oklahoma war dance steps.

The selection of dances reveals the scale of sanctity and also the functional flexibility of certain dances. The Four Sacred Rituals, Women Planters, and medicine animal dances never appear on shows. The dances for Sky Spirits, such as the Eagle Dance, and agricultural dances, such as the Bean Dance, appear in their secular capacity.

These samples from Longhouse events have drawn appreciative spectators. The trend towards show business has opponents on the Reserve in the very families of the producers. Show business may be for the better or for the worse. The performers, who are all respected Longhouse members, even prominent ritualists, think it is for the better to acquaint the outside world with excerpts from ceremonies.

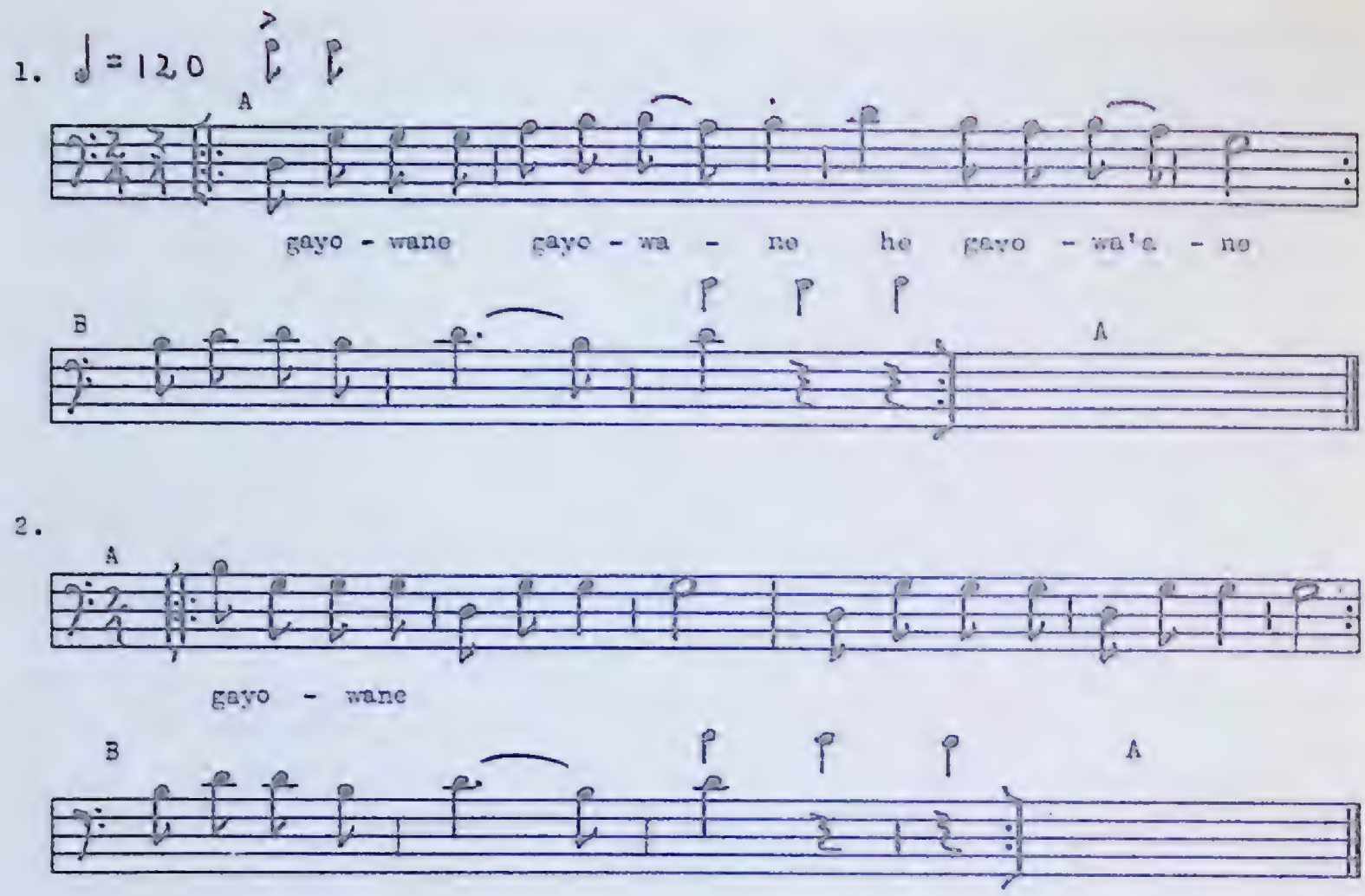


FIGURE 92—TOWEGEHA, Dance of the North, a Huron dance and songs recently brought from St. Regis. Sometimes Josie Logan uses texts signifying "This land he left to us, the land that we're stepping on."

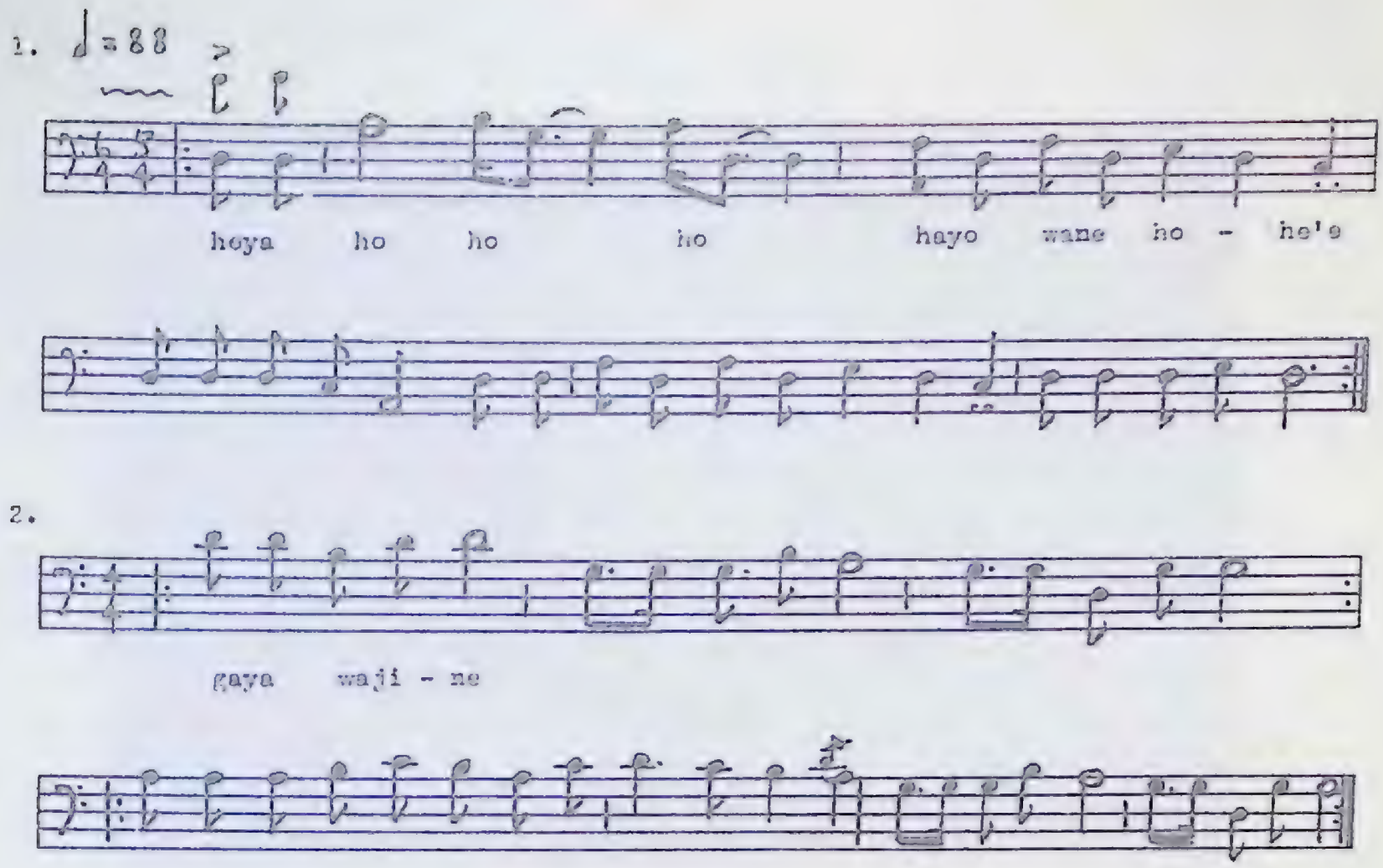


FIGURE 93—SCALP DANCE SONGS

Amphitheatre and space for crafts display, pageant 1963.

Indian Village of Josie Logan, with corn rack and corn soup, 1963.

Josie Logan working on wigwam

Josie Logan and Verna Logan, with members of family, in costume for Indian Village.

PLATE XXIII LONGHOUSE DANCES AT INDIAN VILLAGE, 1963.

Striking -A-Stick—two facing lines

Striking-A-Stick—Crossing

Eugene Skye in Eagle Dance

Benny Thomas and Eugene Skye in War Dance

PLATE XXV MEN AND BOYS IN WASASE WAR DANCE

Jake Thomas, dancer and false face carver, *left rear;*
Howard Skye, dance director, *centre front*

Jake Thomas, Eugene Skye, Benny Thomas, Howard Skye,
Bradley Thomas

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Ancient Rites in a Modern World

The presentation of Longhouse dances to the outside world is destined to present problems. It is impossible to present entire ceremonies, and dance excerpts can give only a fragmentary impression. Furthermore, the dances in the Longhouse are not theatrical in the sense of professional White theatre. They are attuned to participation, not to display; they are spirited but far from precise. The singing, however, is of professional quality and is certain to impress the most critical spectators.

Similarly, motion pictures or any photography cannot convey the Longhouse ceremonies in entirety. Rehearsed dances would be counter to the basic principles of the ceremonies. Again, song recordings fare better than dance films do. Songs can be recorded separately and have been recorded for many years. The recordings in themselves are pleasing examples of a fine art, but they are incomplete without the kinetic and visual aspects.

Nevertheless, the Longhouse ceremonies and the underlying beliefs could play a role in the modern world. The integration of dance, song, social organization, and religion has disappeared in the world of the White man. Such integration could provide a revelation to many a visitor. The spirit of altruism that motivates the ceremonies could teach a useful lesson to the Christians near the Longhouse people.

Unfortunately, only White investigators have attempted the study and preservation of Six Nations dances and music. Fortunately, they have always found Iroquois collaborators desirous of preserving the songs and of explaining the ceremonies to outsiders. The songs of some of these collaborators have been transferred to the pages of this book. Their names and contributions appear in the following list of selections from the large number of recorded songs.

The selections do not include excerpts from esoteric, domestic ceremonies (Kurath 1964: 9–15). They illustrate ceremonies conducted within the longhouses.

LIST OF SONGS COPIED IN REPORT

CHAPTER	SONGS	NUMBER	SINGERS	YEAR	COLLECTOR
5	Ashes Stirring	1	Joshua Buck	1941	W. N. Fenton
	Bear Dance	8	Joseph Logan Sr.	1941	W. N. Fenton
	Buffalo Dance	4	Deskaheh, Willie John	1950	G. Kurath, J. Raben
	Dead Feast	8	Charlie and Mrs. Jamieson	1941	Fenton
	Maskers' Dances	10	Joshua Buck, Simeon Gibson	1941	Fenton
	War Dance	3	Richard Buck	1958	Kurath
	Striking-a-Stick Dance	2	Joseph Logan Sr., Scottie Hill	1952	Kurath

CHAPTER	SONGS	NUMBER	SINGERS	YEAR	COLLECTOR
			Roy Buck	1963	Kurath
	Eagle Dance	4	Deskaheh, Willie John	1950	Kurath, Raben
6	Feather Dance	8	James White	1945	Fenton
	Tobacco Chants	2	Joseph Logan Sr.	1941	Fenton
			Roy Buck	1963	Kurath
	Personal Chants	3	Peter Buck, Gordon Buck	1952	Kurath
			Roy Buck, Gordon Buck	1963	Kurath
	Drum Dance	9	Joseph Williams, Freeman Gibson	1941	Fenton
7	Women's *enskanye*	4	Huron Miller	1952	Kurath
	Women Planters Ritual	8	Jemima Gibson	1941	Fenton
			Anna Green, Esther Jamieson	1963	Kurath
	Four Nights Harvest	8	Peter Buck	1952	Kurath
	Trotting Dance	6	Huron Miller	1952	Kurath
	Corn Dance	5	Deskaheh, Willie John	1950	Kurath, Raben
	Bean Dance	3	Joseph Logan Sr., Scottie Hill	1952	Kurath
	Shaking-a-Squash Dance	2	James White	1941	Fenton
8	Fishing Dance	3	Huron Miller	1952	Kurath
	Pigeon Dance	2	Deskaheh, George Buck Ed Styres	1945	Fenton
	Duck Dance	1	Joseph Logan Sr., Scottie Hill	1952	Kurath
	Cherokee Stomp	7	Willie John, Deskaheh	1950	Kurath, Raben
	Garters Dance	5	George Buck, Edward Styres	1945	Fenton
	Shaking-a-Bush Dance	1	Roy Buck, Gordie Buck	1963	Kurath
	Fish Dance				
	Old Songs	2	Roy Buck	1963	Kurath
	New Songs	3	George Buck	1941	Fenton
			Roy Buck, Gordie Buck	1963	Kurath
	Raccoon Dance	5	George Buck	1941	Fenton
	Chicken Dance	3	Roy Buck	1963	Kurath
	Sharpening-a-Stick Dance	1	Roy and Gordie Buck	1963	Kurath
10	Feather Dance	1	James White	1941	Fenton
	Trotting Dance	1	Huron Miller	1952	Kurath
	Bear Dance	2	Joseph Logan Sr.	1941	Fenton
			Gordie Buck	1963	Kurath
	Drum Dance	6	Joseph Williams	1941	Fenton
			T. Lewis, G. Peters	1952	Kurath
			Roy Buck, Joseph Logan Jr.	1963	Kurath
	Women's *enskanye*,		Joseph Williams	1941	Fenton
	Old Songs	6	Nelson Crawford	1952	Kurath
	New Songs	2	George Buck	1941	Fenton
			Huron Miller	1952	Kurath
	Women Planters Rite	1	Anna Green	1963	Kurath
14	Dance of North	2	Joseph Logan Jr.	1963	Kurath
	Scalp Dance	2	Roy Buck	1963	Kurath
Total		154			

Samples of dances: photos taken during filming of "People of the Longhouse" by National Film Board of Canada. *(Photos by Marius Barbeau)*

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